

Labor Age

After

Toronto—

What ?

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Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

Toronto Looks Southward

Action and Inaction at A. F. of L. Convention

ENTHUSIASMS, rare at recent American Federation of Labor conventions, swept the Toronto gathering at occasional intervals. The South, MacDonald, a national campaign for old age pensions, another attempt at anti-injunction legislation—these were the leading subjects for debate and for cheers and resolutions.

Enthusiasm is a good beginning point for action based on high resolves. The international unions are now to be brought together for a financial pow-wow, looking to real organization of the South. The decision is a praiseworthy one; it must now become more than a resolution written in a record. In addition to raising the money for campaign purposes, we also trust that an aggressive and efficient method of battle will be decided upon. Organizers with intelligence and boundless energy, publicity machinery that will make Labor respected throughout the Southland, relief arrangements that will forever make it unnecessary to halt a militant strike for lack of funds or food or clothing; these are items to be remembered in the coming campaign.

President Green stated that such action as that taken for the South is an answer to critics who have chided the A. F. of L. for lack of aggressiveness. He was correct. More measures of that sort are needed. Were the A. F. of L. to draw on all the reserves of its power and enthusiasm, criticism would be silenced. Until it does that, criticism will be a stimulant to move it along faster in many other channels. What Toronto did is only the sheerest beginning of what the A. F. of L. can and should do.

Out of the murk of Civic Federation sabotage has also emerged the unqualified endorsement of old age pension legislation. To be true to the Toronto resolves, the A. F. of L. must carry on a campaign without quarter. It must expose the

anti-social tactics of the Civic Federation, arch-enemy of social legislation. Wherever the A. F. of L. appears for pensions for the aged, the Civic Federation will be violently in the opposition. To achieve results, the poisonous policy of that anti-labor group must be mercilessly pointed out. In direct ratio to the vigor of the attack on the Civic Federation will be the speed with which pensions for the indigent are adopted.

Progressives are pleased, without being at all excited, by these developments, as the articles in this issue show. We know that the A. F. of L. has still a long way to go before it measures up to its stewardship. Old age pensions will not meet the problem of the man between 40 and 60. The five-day week and six-hour day will help; unemployment insurance will become, nevertheless, increasingly imperative. The A. F. of L. will be compelled, by the logic of the situation, to embark on a wider and wider battle for social insurance. There is no escape from that, if it wishes to do its duty by the workers. Nor will social insurance be a substitute in any way for the growing drive and skill in the industrial fight that real workers education would produce.

Spencer Miller, Jr., talking vaguely about "rationalization," presented a pitiful picture of what the Workers Education Bureau should not be. We should have heard, instead, vivid reports on what workers' education has contributed, actually, to the building up of the unions and the extension of their power. If the A. F. of L. does establish its projected national labor college, we hope that there will be something of reality about it. It is in danger of becoming an intellectual beauty parlor. Far better would it be to give encouragement to the only real aid that the A. F. of L. has in pragmatic workers education—Brookwood College.

NON-PARTISAN INJUNCTIONS

TORONTO'S anti-injunction program is good as far as it goes. Just as the Clayton Act did regain us the last hope of trial by jury in "criminal" contempt cases, so will these proposals tend to hedge in the increasing arrogance of the courts. But, on the other hand, just as the judiciary emasculated the Clayton Act in numerous ways, so will the new legislation, if successful, be operated on by Thomas Jefferson's "enemies of democracy." The anti-democratic courts are not yet ready to surrender their usurped powers.

The brutal misuse of the "equity" power in labor cases must be abolished altogether, before the workers can organize effectively. There is no sound reason for injunctions in such cases whatsoever. If the rules of justice are observed, the same evidence that is necessary to convict workers under the law is necessary in injunction cases. The injunction weapon is a strikebreaking weapon pure and simple. It has no other real purpose.

Something like childlike credulity, then, guided the A. F. of L. in its re-affirmation of its non-partisan stand. Injunctions are handed out by Republican and Democratic judges impartially. They would never be handed out by Labor judges. There is nothing more non-partisan in its crass injustice than the injunction. Even in the scheme of things as they are, the threat of independent Labor action would have more influence on the judiciary than has the non-partisan lobbying attitude. In our greatest industrial State—Pennsylvania—20 judges are up for re-election at the present hour. That is the State of the ridiculous injunction against the miners, which even the U. S. Senators violated by singing forbidden church hymns. It is also the State of two recent sweeping injunctions—prohibiting all functioning on the part of unions whatsoever. And yet, 20 judges are about to be put into office for a good, long time—and the non-partisan policy does not even raise a stir. Non-partisanship has brought to Pennsylvania, in addition, the most reactionary Legislature in its history. All through the nation, to put it brutally, Labor is today at the lowest ebb in political influence that it has been for several decades.

No one expects the A. F. of L. to produce a national Labor Party over night. Every one can see the difficulties in the way. What is expected is a sincere declaration that will assume an independent political attitude and that will make a beginning in that direction. Non-partisanship is wrecked, and the non-partisan injunction is high-powered proof of that fact.

SCRIPPS-HOWARD PAPERS INQUIRE

A. F. of L. officials may feel at times that they can ignore criticism from "those disgruntled souls" within the labor ranks. It has been so unusual of late years for any one to dare arise and question the infallibility of Matthew Woll and his fellows of the Civic Federation that it takes a little time, undoubtedly, for them to realize that A. F. of L. policies hereafter are to be submitted permanently to the acid test of results.

Even the most deafening earmuffs of respectability, however, can scarcely shut out criticisms uttered by the daily news. It is something abnormal, the A. F. of L. official family must admit, for a daily paper to comment adversely on the Federation as lacking in progressiveness.

On the eve of the Toronto convention the SCRIPPS-HOWARD papers ventured to ask a question of the A. F. of L. gathering. That question was: "Where is the A. F. of L.?" In answer, it found the present labor body to be "a somewhat pathetic organization." The indictment of the SCRIPPS-HOWARD newspapers then ran on:

"It (the A. F. of L.) has to report a failure to make appreciable gains in membership, being now below 3,000,000 compared with its 5,000,000 and more in 1920.

"It has to report a labor awakening in the South in which it has little share and industrial warfare in the South which it has done little to mitigate.

"It has to report increasing technical unemployment caused by machines doing the work of men and its own inability to obtain governmental unemployment and old age pension systems to protect scrapped labor.

"It has to report basic industries such as steel, automobiles, rubber, oil in which labor has neither organization nor collective bargaining.

"It has to report other basic industries such as coal and textiles in which chaotic conditions drift from bad to worse, with the Federation having no constructive program to prevent increasing suffering in those trades.

"It has to report growth of the anti-labor injunction evil handcuffing the unions and its helplessness to protect the constitutional civil rights of the workers.

"And all this is happening in the most powerful, most prosperous and allegedly most enlightened democracy in the world.

"It would seem that there is something seriously wrong either with the country or with the American Federation of Labor. Perhaps much is wrong both with the country and with the A. F. of L."

To which is added this caustic conclusion:

"The truth is that the A. F. of L. is failing miserably in its stewardship. Every year its weakness is more apparent.

"The Southern textile situation is a vivid example of that failure, but it is only one of many examples.

"For thirty years the A. F. of L. has ignored the field, except for easy resolutions and a handful of

FUNERAL OF THE MARION MARTYRS



The story of the Marion massacre dramatized the Southern struggle to A. F. of L. at Toronto. Picture also shows caskets containing bodies of four of the six murdered strikers, George Jonas, 65; Sam Vickers, 54; Luther Bryson, 23; Randolph Hall, 22. The two others who subsequently died of their wounds, are, W. S. Black and James Roberts, 18.

organizers. The job has been left to the Communists.

"While the hungry Southern mill hands are facing alone the organized employers and hostile authorities, beaten by mobs and shot down by sheriffs, the sleek A. F. of L. officials sit twiddling their thumbs at mahogany desks in Washington or are making patriotic speeches to the National Security League or at West Point.

"The A. F. of L. is accurately described as the aristocracy of labor. All aristocracies are subject to dry rot."

Objections may be made that some of these charges and conclusions are too sweeping. Of their essential correctness, nevertheless, there can be no doubt. The A. F. of L. has been aping the Big Boys in every major policy—in its attitude toward industrial unionism, political action and social insurance, in its slobbering over militarism as though that were patriotism, in its solicitude to be considered a soft-cushion organization, in its tragic failure to arise in thundering anger at the slavery which has grown apace in America.

When editorials such as the above can be written in a daily newspaper, it is more than time for a complete revolution to take place in the program of Organized Labor.

KEEP IT UP

SAYS Carl Haessler of the Toronto convention, in his interesting Federated Press dispatches:

"Universally conceded to have been a far more liberal and hopeful convention than any since the Montreal gathering of 1920."

We agree. Toronto far outdid New Orleans or any of its immediate predecessors. It went quite a distance in renewing faith in the American Federation of Labor. Progressives, please, demand that the rest of the distance be covered. As much as we have stressed old age pensions and an independent political viewpoint, organization is the largest item of all before American Labor. Organization requires skill and fire. Before the injunction evil will be crushed, outstanding A. F. of L. officials will have to be willing to go to jail. Before the basic industries will be unionized, industrial unionism must be established. Before the South will be won, the resolution at Toronto must grow into a \$1,000,000 fund for that enslaved section, with aggressive attacks on the citadels of reaction below the Mason and Dixon Line. There is the path ahead for Labor. It has turned the corner in Canada. Let it go forward, full steam ahead. Keep it up, A. F. of L., and all men interested in the emancipation of Labor will rejoice.

Is N. Y. World Friend of Labor?

Liberal Daily Blurs Issues

By MARK STARR

THE improved relations between British and American Labor caused by the visits of J. T. Brownlie and MacDonald to the Toronto Convention cannot in any way be put to the credit of John J. Leary, Jr., the staff correspondent of the professedly liberal NEW YORK WORLD. His dispatches have been tinged with malice and misrepresentation. At first, his line was to suggest that MacDonald, if he came, should not cause embarrassment by attempting to tell the Federation what it should do. The heads, Leary wrote, wished to extend courtesy to the head of a Labor Government but "will not approve of the idea of a Labor Party or a Labor Government." Yet, instead of being relieved when MacDonald replied that he was too busy to accept the Convention invitation, the WORLD correspondent alleged that the leaders "quite frankly accepted his answer as an affront." But Mr. Leary explained: "... in declining to address the federation Mr. MacDonald took the softest horn of a dilemma, if he advocated a Labor Party in America, he would have undoubtedly been answered from the floor, if not from the chair, in terms that would not have made pleasant reading 'at home.' Had he not done so he would be 'in bad' at home."

In the next dispatch, the Federation officers are said to feel snubbed because MacDonald was to be the guest of the Socialists at the dinner in New York City. Mr. Green, invited, said he would be unable to be present at that reception and the WORLD correspondent again supplies the reasons. Hillquit and Shiplacoff were going to use the dinner as a Socialist-labor demonstration and to boom an American Labor Party. "The federation is opposed to Socialism and to a Labor Party and, in the ordinary routine, would have nothing to do with such a demonstration. . . . If this was not enough," continued Mr. Leary, with his knowledge of the close relations between the New York Central Trades and Tammany Hall, "the fact that Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Mayor, is scheduled for a prominent part, would suffice, there being no intention on the part of federation leaders to assist his candidacy." (Mr. Leary apparently knows as little about the good taste of Norman Thomas as of MacDonald but at least he might remember that before the A. F. of L. Convention praiseworthy recognized that in the South there was cheap labor which was not foreign, Thomas did all within his power to supply the needs for relief of the Southern strikers. (Mr. McMahon could speak for the U. T. W. on this matter.) The cordial tone of Green's references (Oct. 8th) to the British Premier and the applause by the Convention effectively denied the feelings of being affronted and snubbed as alleged in earlier dispatches.

Contrary also to Leary's previous suggestion, Green reiterated that the A. F. of L. had not closed its mind forever to the possibility of a Labor Party in America.

When finally MacDonald agrees to speak at the Convention, Leary still indulges in rubbing old sores. MacDonald was alleged (Oct. 12th) to be mindful of scars inflicted by Gompers because of MacDonald's wartime "defeatism" and because he resented A. F. of L. opposition to a labor party and to recognition of Soviet Russia. There is a "helpful" reminder that Gompers on one occasion hinted that lynching would have been in America the fate of those who preached as MacDonald did. There is also the amusingly erroneous suggestion that MacDonald was still peeved on account of the lashing given by Green to "Arthur [sic] Purcell, a warm supporter of MacDonald," because Purcell, shortly after the war, advocated at the Atlantic City Convention the formation of a labor party and recognition of Soviet Russia. Only those who know the relations between MacDonald and Purcell, then active in the Trades Union Congress, can appreciate the joke fully.

But THE WORLD correspondent, who invented his own reasons for the MacDonald refusal, has also a deep and devious reason for its reversal. It is for its effect upon British labor politics . . . "for all is not well in British labor circles with the Trade Unionists, as distinguished from the Socialists and intellectuals inclining to cleave from the leadership of MacDonald, George Bernard Shaw and others who have never held union cards." The ambiguity of "who" is convenient in the last sentence and THE WORLD correspondent surely ought to know that far the great majority of labor party members and leaders are trade unionists. Oddly enough it was not the Trades Union Congress this year but in the Labor Party Conference where the Labor Government was most criticized. G. B. S. will feel insulted at being given so small a job as being a mere leader of the Labor movement. Why does not THE WORLD get on the Federated Press list and get its Labor news straight? Its headlines seem also to be under a bad influence. Compare the headlines of the NEW YORK TIMES and THE WORLD on Oct. 17th: "Cheers Rock Toronto Convention" and "A. F. of L. Lukewarm as Premier Commiserates Labor in War." One TIMES news story speaks of MacDonald being "enthusiastically acclaimed." THE WORLD said the later response of the largely Tory Canadian Club of Toronto was warmer and suggested that the A. F. of L. welcome was less enthusiastic than that given to Davis, Secretary of Labor, and Thornton of the Canadian National Railway.

Tide Turns at Toronto

Severe Criticism Takes Effect

By CARL HAESSLER

THE Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor is both an encouragement and a warning to the progressive elements within the movement. The encouragement flows from the evident relaxation of the repressive reactionary spirit that had cursed recent conventions. The warning arises from the absence of leadership in the new atmosphere and the mutterings of the old guard against the tilting of the lid.

Not since the Montreal convention of 1920 when Samuel Gompers was unable to stem the labor tide in favor of the Plumb plan of government ownership and democratic operations of the railroads has there been such a loosely controlled gathering. The administration watchdogs seemed to have lost their old confidence and arrogance and were even observed wearing conciliatory grins as their once vanquished opponents hove into view. The change was so astonishing that it was a universal topic of private conversation and the favorite subject of speculation. How come, everybody queried.

Students of geography had an easy answer. Montreal was progressive and is a Canadian city. Toronto was progressive and is likewise a Canadian city. And we'll have to wait, these geographers predicted, until the federation again meets in a Canadian city for the next progressive convention. The 1930 gathering will be in Boston and the 1931 probably in Washington. Chicago is already strongly bidding for 1933, when its world's fair is to be held, and 1932, the presidential year when the federation does not meet until late in November, usually goes to a southern city. That would mean 1934 before the next Canadian possibility.

Old Guard Divided

But most people were not so severely geographical as that. Some hinted at shiftings of power within the official family sapping the old united front against progressive and radical tendencies within the unions. The first symptom was noticed at New Orleans in 1928 when former federation treasurer, Daniel J. Tobin, spoke out boldly in his statement of resignation against the pussyfooting handshaking policy toward the employers of the Green era.

The second, which had been lengthening its shadow ever since the failure in 1921 to unionize West Virginia, was the swift decay of the United Mine Workers of America. The miners were once the largest unit in the federation. William Green, unanimously elected for his fifth full term as federation president at Toronto, is himself a miner. President John L. Lewis of the miners and his delegation still cast 4,000 votes but this year only on sufferance. The miners' per capita of 12 cents per member per year has been in arrears.

If the executive council had not formally remitted the per capita tax to the miners union William Green would have been in bad standing at the New Orleans convention.

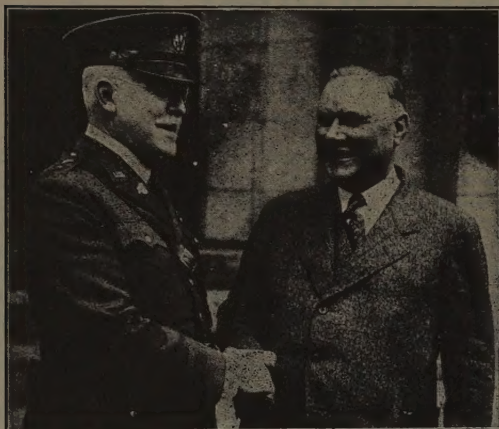
Secretary Frank Morrison's report to the Toronto convention contains an item of \$48,000 appropriated to the miners for the 1927-28 per capita on 400,000 members and an item of \$18,000 appropriated to the miners for the 1928-29 per capita on 150,000 members.

Illinois Miners' Offer

The roar of factional fury within the U. M. W. A. was heard at Toronto when the news from Illinois swept in. Lewis had suspended the well organized Illinois district, throwing out the elected officers and putting in his own appointees. He charged the ousted officers with corruption. This they denied and sent Green a telegram demanding that the convention appoint a committee which would hire auditors to go through the Illinois books. They offered to resign if any corruption were found. The only condition they attached to their proposal was that the same auditors go also through the international books of the miners at Indianapolis and that Lewis should promise to resign if corruption were found in his books. Green did not communicate the Illinois telegram to the convention and it was unofficially explained that the convention had no jurisdiction under federation constitution and rules over a factional struggle inside an autonomous international union.

Lewis took no part in the convention except to escort Ramsay MacDonald to the platform by Green's appointment. His booming voice was silent and struck no terror to progressive delegates. His ammunition was reserved for use against President John H. Walker of the Illinois State Federation, one of the most painstakingly faithful supporters of the A. F. of L. policies, though at one time a herald of the radical cohorts. Walker has a heavy choice before him. If he supports Lewis in the Illinois district fight and the district wins out, he will probably lose the needed votes of his fellow miners for re-election to the state captaincy. If he supports the district and Lewis wins out, he will probably be visited with the expulsion from the miners' union that Lewis has already threatened and will then be ineligible to continue as state federation president. Progressives who have been ill pleased with Walker's recent attitude are not displaying as much human sympathy for his dilemma as ordinary fellow feeling would call for. Walker's most disgraceful performance was his sneer at Max Hayes at the Los Angeles convention in 1927. Hayes, the only articulate progressive delegate there, had made a smashing attack on the servility of Matthew Woll before the moguls of the Republican

HOBNOBBING WITH MILITARISM



William Green at West Point five months ago.

convention at Cleveland in 1924. Hayes urged a Labor party, so that such bootlicking to get labor planks in the old party platforms might cease. Walker in reply said he had been a progressive once himself and had learned better and he supposed there was something in it for Hayes that induced him to keep up the old slogans. So raw were his remarks that the convention recorders toned them down for the printed proceedings. Progressives feel, however, that with more chance of success for their program Walker might again swing to their side.

The third omen of change in federation attitude is the lack of success of the recent policies. Company unions have not conspicuously withered. Injunctions have not been lamed. Membership has not notably increased. Legislation has not been particularly favorable. Perhaps something new may be tried on the ground that it couldn't be any worse. That feeling was not absent in the hotel lobby discussions.

Reactionaries Under Fire

The discontent within staunch federation circles was further inflamed by the flood of criticism of the past year, coming from friend and foe alike. It began last November as soon as the New Orleans convention, at the behest of Matthew Woll, had made its ill advised onslaught on Professor John Dewey, the Columbia University philosopher and affiliated member of the A. F. of L. through the teachers' federation. The liberal world was shocked. The BALTIMORE SUN and other dailies came to Dewey's defense and scoffed at Woll's popgun barrage on America's leading educator. The progressive weeklies had alternating currents of indignation and contempt. Socialist opinion through the NEW LEADER made an overwhelming attack on Woll. Dewey himself raised the question in the NEW REPUBLIC of Woll's sincerity and labor loyalty. An anonymous writer in a highbrow muckraking monthly was commonly agreed to have gone

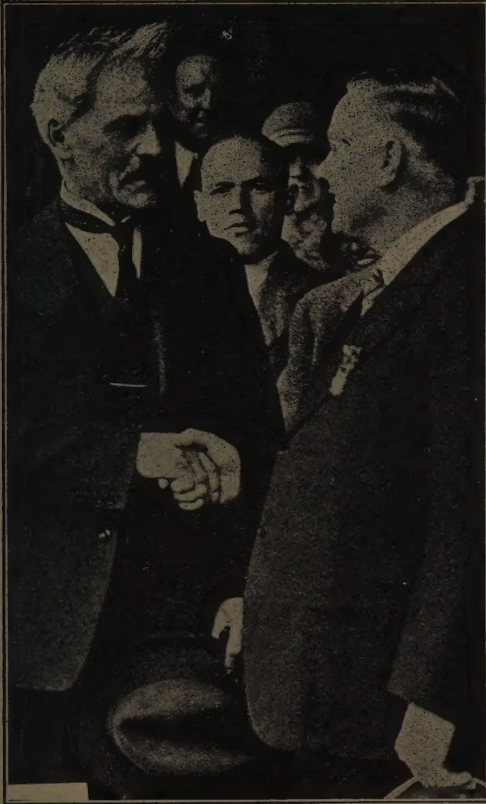
perilously near the limit of criticism when on top of it all the labor-friendly SCRIPPS-HOWARD chain of newspapers cast all restraint to the winds and gave, in a pungent editorial, what they considered the lowdown on the federation. So widely has that editorial been reprinted or quoted from, that quotation here would be superfluous. Suffice it that Tobin of the teamsters said on the convention floor that "every word in this editorial is in line with the speech delivered by Foster recently in this vicinity." He was referring to Secretary William Z. Foster of the Trade Union Unity League, the extreme radical wing of the labor movement. President Green said the editorial might well have been written by Bill Dunne, the Communist editor expelled by the Portland convention in 1923. It was evident from the debate on that editorial and from private remarks by many delegates that the charges brought against the federation leadership were by no means entirely resented, either by some of the international officers of certain great unions or by a large part of the rank and file. The convention finally decided to accept the SCRIPPS-HOWARD offer to open their columns to a reply by Green. What he will have to say is eagerly awaited. That this rather tame suggestion came from the pressmen and the typos and that Woll, the traditional pogromist, took no part in the debate, may be significant of the shift of power already mentioned.

Woll Weakens Under Attack

The significance may be the decline and ultimate fall of the hitherto triumphant Woll policies and personality. That he should relinquish his role of attack on sentiments publicly branded as most outrageously red by Green and Tobin is one item in the significance, if there be any significance. That the two most powerful unions in the printing trades, to which Woll's photo engravers belong, should tolerate the broadcasting of such sentiments and defend the broadcasters from the customary convention vengeance of the old Woll variety is another item.

"Mattie is not the boy he used to be," was fairly general comment at Toronto, from delegates and the sidelines down to the press table. He was almost appealingly on the defensive in many of the sessions. He came out for old age pensions, announcing that he had been much misunderstood on that subject. He anxiously explained his high tariff labor policy, composed of 16 unions some of which, like the bricklayers, have no direct stake in the tariff either way. Never, he declared, had he made it appear that his tariff lobby represented the entire labor movement or even the bulk of it, despite the alluring title of American Wage Earners' Protective League. Private information had it that there would be uncomfortable revelations about the personnel of the labor tariff lobby when the senate investigating committee got around to it. And when President Andrew Furuseth of the seamen insinuated that Woll was either "a pettifogging lawyer or the president of the National Civic Federation championing the open shop and injunction employers," the most that Woll did was to say "I protest." Green ordered Furuseth to withdraw the remark, which he did.

GREEN WELCOMES MacDONALD



"It is rather contradictory for us to make preparations for war when all are seeking the ways of peace."—Green at Toronto.

That Victor A. Olander, the capable but conservative Illinois state federation secretary, will succeed to the power Woll formerly held is a growing opinion among convention prophets.

Undoubtedly the southern textile outbreaks stiffened progressive spines and prodded what lethargy there may have been among the higherups. The hopeful aspect of that situation is that the fermentation is increasing in the southern mills and will be a continuing force upon the federation leadership. At the same time the emergence of real southern labor leadership is a tremendous gain. Birthright, the Tennessee state federation secretary, should soon rank among the best convention delegates. He has the advantage of a broadly progressive outlook.

The sentiment for a Labor party is still thin and misty but should have been helped by the MacDonald visit to the Toronto gathering and by the forthright speeches in favor of class political action delivered by the British fraternal delegates, J. T. Brownlie and James Bell.

Brookwood Labor College was not molested by the convention. An arrangement was arrived at under which neither side opened the subject. Spencer Miller, Jr., of the Workers Education Bureau did his best to upset the arrangement but was quietly pulled by the ear out into the cloakroom, figuratively speaking, by that determined and plucky teacher trade unionist, Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, the veteran secretary of the convention education committee. Miller did, however, contrive to slip into the education report a part of an obscurely worded reference to the Conference for Progressive Labor Action which reads as follows:

Spencer Miller's Hymn of Hate

"We find further justification for union control of educational policies in the recent formation of a movement under the leadership of a group to revolutionize the aims and practices of the federation. This so-called progressive movement seeks to dictate not only educational but also trade union policy. Such an effort of unauthorized groups reverses the very theory of the inherent rights of trade unions to determine their own policy."

Perhaps that was another convention tribute to one of the forces that have shaped the new attitude. Whether this attitude will continue and change still further into progressive channels very obviously depends in great part on the continued exertion of the forces that have so far operated in that direction.

The most alarming aspect of the convention was the complete absence of outstanding progressive leadership to take advantage of the crumbling of the old guard. Delegates are still timid, still seeking cover in silence and confidential sideline criticism. They have not yet taken to heart the very evident moral of the year's hammering criticism, namely, that the old guard fears and respects hard-hitting fighters.

A CHANT FOR MACHINES

*A Chant for glittering machines,
Come alive.
Huge monsters,
They will wive,
They will breed
Steel-children glittering.
They will cover all the earth,
They will sing
New songs of rough power.
They will forge
New worlds,
New law.
Men will be as chaff,
As straw
In their grip.
They will leap oceans,
Span the sky
And will not die.*

DAVID P. BERENBERG.

After Toronto---What?

Continue the Fight for Progressive Measures

By A. J. MUSTE

THE Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor furnished conclusive proof that militant progressives have pursued the right course during the past year, and at the same time revealed more clearly than ever the need for their activities in the future.

Let us consider first some of the actions and utterances of this most recent convention of the American Federation of Labor which were progressive in tendency and for which progressives may legitimately take a measure of credit.

First of all, there was a big difference in the atmosphere at Toronto in 1929 as compared with the attitude at New Orleans in 1928 and at a good many previous conventions. There was no lynching at Toronto; no furious attacks on Brookwood or Prof. John Dewey or some other "red" institution or individual furnished the press its one big story in a gathering otherwise marked by dullness and lethargy.

Not only was the convention not carried off its feet, by some heresy hunting expedition, but the officers and delegates were themselves for the most part on the defensive. They felt obligated to answer the many severe criticisms which have been levelled against the movement during the past year. It was as plain as a pike-staff that these criticisms had taken effect and had aroused a certain determination to show results.

No one who gives the matter a moment's serious consideration will question that when an organization has to face frank, constructive and yet merciless, analysis, when it is "on its toes," alert, it is in an infinitely healthier condition than when it is self satisfied and in a heretic burning mood. For bringing about this change progressives are to a considerable degree, responsible, directly or indirectly. They have thus rendered a great service to the A. F. of L., that "most sincerely friendly act," as some one has called it, of honest criticism.

A Lesson for Certain Socialists

The results obtained to date should give food for thought to those who in private vehemently protest that they are progressives or socialists, but who think that in public they must play hand in glove with the most violent anti-socialists, must condone anything that the officialdom may do, and must never be outspoken in criticism of acts and tendencies with which they disagree. That was not the method of progressives or of the Socialist Party in their better days when they counted for a good deal. That is not the spirit of 'Gene Debs, and Frederick Engels. It is not the method now of genuinely virile leaders in the Socialist Party such as Norman Thomas.

A good illustration of the pathetic depths to which people who take this course at last descend was given at this very Toronto convention, when a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, a socialist union, who, utterly forgetful of all socialist principles and patently as a gesture of toadying to the powers that be, offered a resolution which would have encouraged a boycott against the SCRIPPS-HOWARD papers for publishing a critical editorial about the A. F. of L.! The gentleman had to be rebuked by such "reds" as Victor Olander, William H. McHugh of the Printing Pressmen, President Charles P. Howard of the Typos and by President Green himself. Sometimes on a black night a flash of lightning will suddenly reveal to a man the precipice that yawns just ahead of him on his path. Do Socialist unionists now see whither they are bound if they do not join the militant progressives?

Convention Adopts Progressive Plank

Secondly, the Toronto Convention took a sound, progressive position on old age pensions. Traditionally the A. F. of L. has been for this form of social insurance, but in recent years, largely because of National Civic Federation influence, there has been indifference and constant postponement of effective action, while welfare capitalists put in pension schemes for their own employees which brought them very little real money but psychologically tied them in with the employer's interests. Through all the agencies they could command progressives have criticized this attitude and agitated for old age pension legislation. Now the A. F. of L. has gone clearly on record favoring the enactment of laws requiring a pension commission for every county and for drafting a model compulsory old age pension bill and campaigns in all states for its passage.

This is of great importance in itself, but it is also of no little importance that this marks a breaking away from National Civic Federation domination on an important labor issue. Another triumph for progressives, including our good friend Abraham Epstein, Secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security.

Thirdly, the Toronto convention was decidedly less militaristic in tone than some of its recent predecessors. The newly elected commander of the American Legion made an eloquent address and openly pleaded for the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in working out in anticipation of the next war a conscription act. Doubtless recent actions and utterances by the A. F. of L. leaders such as visits of state to West Point had encouraged Mr. Bondenhamer to be-

TROOPS AT MARION



Large scale militant organization campaign in the South is the only answer to bosses' attempt to break strikes through use of soldiers.

lieve that such pleas would find willing listeners. Probably they would have, if progressives had not been outspoken in their criticism of those things.

As it was, President Green informed the Commander that the Legion and Labor "differed very sharply upon the question of universal conscription." He pointed out that "it is rather contradictory for us to make preparations for war when all are seeking the ways of peace." This is language all honest laborites rejoice to hear from the President of the A. F. of L.

Southern Revolt Dramatized

Fourthly, the opportunity for organization in the South was dramatized, the emotional appeal of the plight of the textile workers moved the convention, as has not been the case for a good many years, and a fairly promising beginning was made in planning for relief and organization work. Not because it is important that credit and praise in any vulgar sense should be justly apportioned but because issues of labor strategy are involved, that we take pains to point out here but for the work of the small groups of militant progressives latterly rallying around LABOR AGE and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, this result would probably not have been achieved. The progressives were the first, months ago, to call attention to the opportunity in the South and the revolt even then brewing among the textile workers. Progressives criticised the inadequate planning for the organizing campaign, lack of publicity, dramatization and relief machinery, bad strike settlements, dependence upon the supposed "fairness" of company union corporations rather than upon the militancy and determination of the workers.

Progressives almost single-handed carried on the glorious struggle by the side of the workers in Marion, which focussed the eyes of labor and of the nation on the southern textile field just on the eve of the Toronto convention. The martyred textile workers who shed their blood by Marion's mill gate spoke with resistless eloquence to the delegates, and it may well be, as Vice President Gorman of the United Textile Workers put it, that their death, "marks the beginning of the end of industrial slavery in the South."

Fifthly, those who desire to agitate within the Federation for the abandonment of the Non-Partisan Political Policy and the building of a Labor Party were given leave to do so by an important sentence in President Green's reply to the addresses of the British fraternal delegates who had told of how the British Labor Party had at the last election "stormed the citadel of capitalism" and how it had no excuse for existence unless it was out to achieve ultimately a social revolution. President Green said: "If the time should come when the great congress of labor believed that the best interest of working men and women would be served by the development of a Labor Party we would not hesitate to face the issue." Obviously such a change could never come about in a moment, nor without previous discussion and agitation. Hence those who think the time has now come for the A. F. of L. to face the issue, though they may be mistaken, cannot be traitors. That also is a gain!

The tactics of the progressives having achieved such noteworthy results in so short a time, so many progressive measures having been at least tentatively adopted by the highest trade union body in the land, it should now be easier for us to go ahead confidently with our work. Those who have had honest doubts about the practicability of our enterprise must now confess that it has some merit and a chance for success. Those who have been fearful in face of the prospect of bitter official opposition may take courage from the thought that there are new breezes stirring and that we may be getting back to the saner days when men can live and work together in the movement even though they differ on many points and fight frankly and bravely over the principles on which they differ.

What Progressives Should Do

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action and progressives and militants everywhere must therefore get to work now more vigorously than ever. The situation invites us to go on, and there is a vast deal to be done. It remains to be seen whether a new day has really begun in the A. F. of L.

"One swallow does not make a summer." If a new path has been taken, then even more is it up to us not to lie down and go to sleep but to see to it that the path of militancy and progress is followed out to the ultimate goal of labor's emancipation.

Let us mention some of the tasks at which we must keep hammering away. For one thing, progressives

must not assume from the rebuke which President Green gave to the American Legion commander that the A. F. of L. is done forever with flirting with militarism, or that it is completely cured of the narrow spirit of nationalism. Far from it. After having rebuked the commander, President Green assured him, nevertheless, that the Federation would study the subject of the universal draft most carefully and that any decision arrived at would be the decision of a friend of the Legion. Anti-militarists must see to it that that decision is an absolute and irrevocable no to conscription and to the whole false philosophy of military preparedness.

Despite the courtesies extended to Ramsay MacDonald and his fellows of the British Labor Party the A. F. of L. reaffirmed its stand for the non-partisan policy in politics. That is the policy which put most of the labor movement in New York, for example, back of Jimmy Walker in the present mayoralty campaign! We must press the battle for the saner policy of independent political action.

Nor must we lose sight of the fact that the philosophy of partnership between capital, or management, and labor, the theory that there is no fundamental diversity of interest between them, so that labor can achieve all its ends in cooperation with capital under the system of private ownership and of production for profit, still dominates the A. F. of L. A carefully staged session of the convention was devoted to bringing out the idea "that labor and capital will together make their greatest contribution to the welfare of mankind in the active and unceasing promotion of the partnership theory in all forms of industrial activity."

It is perhaps hardly necessary to repeat that we fully realize that organized workers cannot take a negative or destructive attitude toward the operation of the industries upon which they depend for a living. We also know that actions speak louder than words, and that it is not always the union that talks the loudest which acts the most militantly.

Falling for Company Unionism

Yet the philosophy of a movement and the terms in which it talks about itself are not entirely devoid of importance. Talk of "peace, peace when there is no peace" is harmful, and it will not bring any permanent and worthwhile peace. It puts labor off its guard in practical situations so that it makes bad strike settlements, falls for "Mittenism" and is apathetic about organizing. The C. P. L. A. has still before it the important task of pointing insistently to the hard facts of the class-struggle in these United States, as witness Marion, of developing in the workers a labor culture to take the place of their capitalist mindedness, and to point to their ultimate goal of labor as a cooperative world under labor control.

Finally, and most important of all, there remains

what C. P. L. A. has always set forth as the primary task of the labor movement today—organizing the unorganized in the basic industries. No substantial progress has as yet been made in that field, indeed no respectable effort has been made. A brave slogan, "Double the Membership," was adopted at New Orleans in 1928. Late in the summer publicity was permitted to come forth, apparently from A. F. of L. headquarters, claiming an increase for the year of three-quarters of a million members. The Executive Council's report shows an increase of about 37,000 members, and there are all kinds of reasons to doubt whether that is a real net increase. Assume that it is, and still what a pitiable showing. Yet no concern was expressed at Toronto. "Double the Membership" continues to be the slogan. Is it to be anything more than just that?

Importance of Southern Campaign

The fact that great enthusiasm was displayed about the Southern organizing campaign, that resolutions were made with more feeling and determination back of them than has been displayed for many a day, that a good committee to raise an emergency fund was immediately appointed, that an organizing conference is to be called, is of great importance.

The possible results of this proposed forward movement are beyond calculation. If one big industry employing masses of the unskilled and semi-skilled is organized, it is certain that others will follow. The A. F. of L. will achieve a power, dignity and influence befitting the labor movement in the most powerful capitalist nation in the world. The effects will be felt not only in America, but among workers throughout the world who know that only an America in control of labor will be friendly to them.

All progressives and militants in the unions must give their utmost in time, money and moral support to this Southern organizing campaign. It should receive the backing of all liberal elements in the land.

The enthusiasm generated at Toronto and the high resolves made there must, however, be translated into action and without delay. If indolence, petty jurisdictional disputes, inefficiency, lack of militancy or any other cause were to interfere with the making and the execution of adequate plans for the Southern campaign, it would constitute a betrayal of workers clamoring to be organized, and a failure to seize the opportunity of a generation. Such a failure would bring down upon the A. F. of L. the contempt of the workers and of all friends of social justice in the land. There was once a high-sounding resolution to organize the automobile industry, which to date has led to just exactly nothing. Let there be no mistake about it, that precisely that will happen with the Southern campaign unless militant progressives throw themselves into the work with more energy than ever.

Four Out of Five

Why Standard Oil Won Fifth Round

By DANIEL WALSH

SUCCESS came to the truck drivers. One, two, three, four—four strikes right in a row kept Jimmy Walker's "best" swinging their clubs in anticipation but not in realization—a truckman is not a needle pusher and must be respected after all. Besides, the mellifluous brogue is not to be sneered at. Anyone and every one steering anything larger than a baby carriage was a target for unionization. So within about a month, starting in September, the building truckmen, general merchandise drivers, produce truck drivers and grocery truck helmsmen fought their battles. Quick and to the point, and won. The building truckmen, hitherto aimless wanderers without any organization, signed an agreement with the bosses before they were through. The general merchandise boys reduced their daily toil to eight hours. The produce truckmen got a five dollar per week jackpot added to their kitty which was likewise and similar to the winnings of the grocery drivers. Everything was glorious and Dan Tobin's rank and file fully and sufficiently demonstrated once again that old boy militancy sure is a great help in an emergency. And then, they fa' down and go boom! Something went wrong with the plans of the G. H.

Three days after the last winning combination brought home the bacon to the boys handling melons, cucumbers, oranges and such like, the plan called for a frontal attack on the biggest and best combined show in the industry, the oil boys. Dan must have slipped up on that one for in spite of the seven or ten years of good schooling every one with one eye to win'ard could have had from the spectacle at Washington, where the three ring circus with Fall, Doheny and Sinclair as the top-notchers was put on under the big top, the lieutenants of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs let the New York non-union oil drivers alone until every man jack driver engaged in hauling bricks or groceries or what not, was satisfied and ready to crawl under the quilts of a night with the feeling that the world was good and why be bothered.

Paralyze Motor Traffic

At any rate, on October 11 word went out to the oil truck drivers that emancipation was waiting for them around the corner if only they went out to grab it. And grab it they did—at first. About three thousand of them responded and filled the halls with their swarthy frames. It looked like the goods from the very start. Even the daily sheets in first page conspicuousness admitted paralysis of gas buggies on account of no gas in the gas tanks.

"With filling stations turning many motorists away as a result of the gasoline shortage," wailed one metro-

politan tabloid, "and more than 1,500 taxis reported at a standstill," the situation was pretty black, pretty black. Even more workers heard the call and out in Yonkers and Mt. Vernon 500 to 600 oil and gas wagon manipulators were ready to leave their steering wheels to join their brothers in New York.

Labor's Best Dressed Friend

Meanwhile, Jimmy Walker, labor's best dressed friend, supplied free and gratis, with the taxpayers' money of course, a nice bluecoated guard with a billy for every wagon full of gas or oil the Standard Oil Company of New York, the Sun Oil Company and others were willing to send out of their strongholds by a scab. At Inwood, L. I., a whole squad of New York's "finest" were stationed to guard the precious lives of a swarming colony of scabs working for the Standard Oil.

Some of the two-by-four distributors surrendered almost immediately. The union was too much for them. Within a few days after the strike was called, the Ace Petroleum Corporation, Atlantic Basin Oil Corporation, Crystal Oil Corporation and Parker Oil Corporation signed agreements and everything was jake—as far as it went. But no headway could be made against the Baptist citadel of 26 Wall Street, and the other major oil lords. Peter P. Bruntz, now the high mogul as assistant manager of Standard Oil of New York but once a hewer of wood and drawer of water like the rest of us lowly, and to boot a good union member long ago, learned his lesson well from his pious chief: "Under no condition," he is reported to have said, "would the Standard Oil Company of New York recognize the union."

There was talk of a big uprising involving all the drivers in New York City to help out the oil boys. A confab of the 17 locals was held to decide upon this move. But what will you? Most of the others had already gotten their slice and were sitting pretty, so why go through the strain?

Sure it wasn't all easy going for that Rockefeller outfit, either. The pampered pets who took the strikers' places, each one having his own copper to protect him, and free bed and board thrown in for good measure, were getting \$15 dollars per each day for their terribly tough labor. That was easy pickin's, sure enough. But if the pickin's good why not make it better? So two hundred of them yellow saviors of Standard Oil went on strike, just like regular two-legged people. Their demand was \$20 a day. That was too much, even for strike breakers. Oily John D. Jr., was more than willing to pay \$15 dollars to good scabs to keep the union men out, even though the union was only asking from \$42.50 to \$47 a week as

GUERILLAS WOUND STRIKER



Standard oil gunmen shoot down union truckman in Brooklyn street.

against the \$35 the men were getting previously. But to pay \$20 dollars a day? Well, now, that was a little bit too much. There was nothing else left to do but to take the policemen, who, up to now, were real buddies to the scissor bills and turn them loose on the striking strike-breakers. Oh, what a headache Brundy developed!

Federal mediators came in to try to smooth things over, as it were. But where is the government, at 26 Broadway or at Washington? They weren't even permitted a peek in by Standard Oil. Michael J. Cashal, Vice-President of the International, then proposed an impartial commission to investigate with Thomas C. T. Crain, former Justice of the Supreme Court, at the head. This was turned down flat by the oil companies. There was nothing to do but to fight it out in the good old fashioned way.

The fight was already over, however. What do you think? Here these truck drivers, new to the game, were promised help from the other union truckmen. Then as meeting after meeting went by with the promises multiplying but with no signs of action, they began to wonder, how come? And when the big oil companies finally sent out that much used ultimatum, the boys just ran for their lives trying to get their old buggy seats back.

Where Union Strategy Failed

On October 18, seven days after the strike was called, the newspapers decided the revolution was no longer news and gave it the fourth page, column one.

There was a mad rush for cover and Standard Oil saved the day for the open shop once again.

Well, to my way of thinkin', as our good friend Al used to say when he thought of moving over to the White House, Dan Tobin's militancy is nothing to be snickered at, but the strategy used in this here fight limps in two directions. According to statistics there are 25,000 warm hearted, dues paying members of this great trucking Brotherhood in the Big City who would make a fine army if all went out on parade together. Why divide them into platoons; the produce platoon; the merchandise platoon; the grocery platoon; the building material platoon and then have each platoon engage the enemy separately and apart as if it is nobody's business, is beyond human ken, as the Dutch painter wrote. And another question on why. Why were the oil truckmen tackled last when they had the strongest opposition to face and when by then all the other boys felt perfectly satisfied to let things be, because of their personal gains? Sure, Dan's militancy is all to the merry, but where is good friend unity? It may be, it may yet be that the campaign called for division strikes until the oil kings were to be faced, and then the plan was to concentrate all forces against 26 Broadway and similar institutions. If so, where were the forces?

To win four strikes in a row is no mean task, buddies, and we certainly can heave our chests in deserved pride. But to win against Standard Oil would have been more prideful still. After all is said and done, these are the towers we soon will have to climb and we cannot learn how too soon.

How To Organize

Battlefront Thoughts on Union Effectiveness

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

III. THE TWO AMERICAS

FLOURISHING "white slave" traffic is but one activity winning recent news fame for Easton, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Appealing much more to local pride was the October dedication of the building of the Department of Civil Rights at La Fayette College. Building and Department alike are gifts of Fred Morgan Kirby, Woolworth Five and Ten Cent magnate. Mr. Kirby is impressed with the need for spreading afar the benefits of the Constitution. Secretary of Labor Davis, speaking at the dedication, lauded the glories of American Civil Rights and bitterly attacked Communism.



LOUIS F. BUDENZ

While the celebrations were afoot, the college department was presented with a splendid opportunity to study the destruction of the Bill of Rights by a Communist-breeding source, the judiciary. Attorneys for the Kraemer Hosiery Company of Nazareth drew up an injunction against Branch 10 of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, duly O. K.-ed temporarily by the Court of Common Pleas of Northampton County. This injunction forbade meetings, distribution of literature, sending of newspapers or other matter through the mails, and from any use of "argument" or "persuasion." The injunction covered the Branch and all its "agents, servants, and other persons conspiring with them or any of them." It was based on the "yellow dog" contract, installed by the infamous MacDonald agency over six months ago. Specifically enjoined by name were William F. Kelly, vice president of the United Textile Workers, Louis Francis Budenz, Edith Christensen of the Philadelphia Women's Trade Union League and the officers of Branch 10.

Coma Hits Bill of Rights

With that injunction, the Bill of Rights died in Northampton County, or went into a coma closely resembling death. Free speech, free press and free assemblage were wiped out by the sweep of the President Judge's pen. In justification, the judge could point to allegations of "intimidation," "fear," etc. which were ridiculous, but which without a hearing

could not be disproved. As elsewhere, the injunction business is rotten to the core.

Here we have a specific organization problem, which calls out further thoughts on organization tactics. In the Interborough Rapid Transit case—a very similar one in state of facts—President Green of the A. F. of I. called the bluff of the company by the greatest show of militancy that he has ever given. The court recognized the stupidity of putting President Green in jail. With an obscure organizer the case is different, and no resulting uproar develops. But the President of the American Federation of Labor in jail for merely speaking for unionism would be a spectacle that would damn the courts for years to come. The New York judiciary heeded the imposing and learned brief of counsel in that case, and confined "yellow dog" and injunction to a legal Hades.

Broadcasting Labor's Message

In Nazareth, there has been a different turn of events. The injunction had been preceded by meetings on the outskirts of the borough, addressed through amplifiers. This modern method of spreading the labor gospel was adopted, because of Chief Burgess Ziegler's determination to aid the company by keeping union representatives out of town. It had been tried successfully by Branch 1 of the Federation, which deserves credit for first using this device in their Philadelphia organization meetings. The company alleges that this modern method of broadcasting caused "fear" among its employees! If any one should have felt a weakness of the knees, it was the union representatives, threatened by arrest at every turn. The amplifiers had been preceded and accompanied by a NAZARETH HOSEY WORKER, sent to every member of the community. In that way friends were secured for the union cause, among many folks who would have misunderstood the message, if given furtively and secretly. For, no man can conscientiously defend the "yellow dog" contract, 12-hour night shift or the lower wages and bad conditions prevailing at the Kraemer Mill. Organization work, under those circumstances, is a matter of dramatizing the issues and explaining them to every citizen of the town. When the Chief Burgess sought to stop distribution of the hosiery newspapers, they were sent in by mail. Hence, the injunction.

Aid came to the harassed hosiery workers, with the issuance of that decree. The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor was so stirred by the fight and by the issues involved, that they stepped into the breach. Their regular organ, the LABOR PRESS, went into Nazareth, exposing injunction and "yellow dog." A political campaign was launched, to bring these abuses to the attention of Governor and Legislature. Meetings were held in the same outskirts outpost, to raise the banner

LASSEED



Federation News, Chicago

Labor will be hog-tied until the man on horseback is unseated through independent political action.

of reform. Surely the courts will not essay to halt political discussion! So far, in this case they have not done so. The hosiery workers of Nazareth, eager for freedom through unionism, took heart at these evidences of interest from the outside. Their desire for the abolition of the crude conditions inside the mill grew before the very eyes of the startled management. The meetings and publications of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor continue.

What will happen further, no one knows. Final hearings on the anti-Constitutional injunction comes up on October 30th. Meanwhile, agitation in Nazareth goes on as vigorously as ever, only more so. What we wish to point out here is: The third item in successful organization work, as we see it, is intelligent aggressiveness. Had the issues at Nazareth not been dramatized ahead of time, the State Federation might not have felt the deep interest in the battle that it has shown. (Certainly, other agencies would not have done so. Since the writing of the major portion of this article, an organization of which the author has never heard—the League for American Rights—is reported to have sent letters into Nazareth, urging an adherence to union policies which the injunction-harassed union itself could never have mentioned.)

This intelligent aggressiveness which should mark organization work comes logically out of that knowledge of the present economic scene, to which reference was made last month. We thus realize the historical

role that Labor has to play in the present era. Unless men are fired with ideas of that kind, and with the sense of power and exultation that goes with it, their efforts are half-defeated before they are begun. Let us repeat what has been said before: Organization activities are not for a man who views himself as a sort of fraternal organization glad-hander. Neither are they for him who looks upon the salesman as his model. Organizing is crusading, by those who should be as shrewd as serpents and as innocent as doves.

All through the history of this country there have run two Americas—that of the class that happened to be in power and that of those battling for a wider expression of freedom. No source of information gives a more delightful picture of that phenomenon than the Beards' "*Rise of American Civilization*." The union organizer must understand and feel that he is standing on the same ground in this period as did the Revolutionary Fathers in their warfare on the Tories, and as did the Abolitionists against the Slave Power.

Aid Comes to Cunning Courage

To those who proceed with cunning and with courage, help will always come. Sometimes it will arise from totally unexpected quarters. It may be a politician or set of politicians. Labor has run after them too much in recent years, rather than having them come to Labor. It may be a wider group of unions within the Movement itself. The aid of other unions has not been mobilized to the fullest in many organization efforts. It may be individuals or committees entirely unconnected with the unions. Too often have such helpful contacts been neglected. At any rate, if the organizer and those back of him make use of every possibility of a given situation, cooperative assistance will not be long in asserting itself.

Nothing was more pathetic than an organizer who came into Buffalo two years ago. Utterly unable to enthrone men he arrogantly rejected such agencies and persons as might have worked with him. Net result: A total failure and a hasty retreat. Finances had nothing to do with his case; he had an unlimited expense account. His is undoubtedly not a typical case. It is a warning, however, of how an organizer should *not* proceed.

We have used the adjective "intelligent" advisedly in speaking of aggressiveness. Bulldozing should be a lost art. The present day demands a finesse in organizing, which speaks softly when occasion requires and yet can use a big stick to achieve that end to the utmost. An exchange of organizing experiences and problems is sorely needed. Many months ago, *LABOR AGE* suggested a Summer School for organizers. The secretaries of Chambers of Commerce have such common meeting grounds; why not learn from our enemies? Organizers are generally busy men, and it is difficult to get them together at one time. And yet, it would pay in the long run for several international unions to give their men a "vacation"—say, at Brookwood—for such an exchange of views. It would be an appropriate prelude to the organization of the hundreds of thousands still to be brought within the union fold.

Civil War In Miners Union

Will Illinois Invasion Crush Lewis?

By ISRAEL MUFSON

IF war is hell then the innocent bystanders, in this instance the hard muscled coal miners of Illinois, are in for plenty of it in the immediate future. The bitter conflict now raging between John L. Lewis,



ISRAEL MUFSON

President of the United Mine Workers of America, and the officers of District 12, for control of this lucrative area, the only real solvent district of the rapidly vanishing international union, under ordinary circumstances would leave both sides in a weaker position. The sad history of such internecine warfare has always been a breakdown of union standards, while the operators, taking advantage of the confusion, usually have had an unobstructed way to a return of open shop conditions. But the situation in Illinois is a lot different from similar developments in other districts, and in spite of the action of "wrecker Lewis," as the *ILLINOIS MINER* lovingly describes him, there need be no immediate fear of the coal owners attempting to break off union relations. What may happen is that District No. 12 will set up housekeeping on its own account, declare complete independence of the United Mine Workers, and establish even closer relations with the Illinois operators. Whether in this possibility there is a threat of eventual company unionism will depend on how quickly the United Mine Workers as a whole can be revived. Meanwhile the struggle for supremacy between Lewis and Fishwick, President of District 12, is hot and heavy.

In a fight of this nature the real purposes which prompt an International union to invade its most prosperous principality and disturb the tranquillity of orderly and seemingly successful government are naturally hidden. But before entering upon this phase of the melodrama, it is interesting to evaluate the forces that are lined up on either side of the battlefield. District No. 12 carries on its fight with all the color, audacity, provocativeness and lure that make gallery idolators weep and gnash their teeth alternately, in accordance with the mood of the hero of the play. The U. M. W. employs the simple tactics which have been tried so often before and found quite successful—the tactics of the steam roller. Led by the *ILLINOIS MINER*, the weekly news sheet of the district organization, the Illinois cohorts pack a punch that is doubly devastating.

With every jab of the clenched fist is the sting of sarcasm and the frustration of the merry horse laugh. The barbs that Oscar Ameringer, the editor of the paper, so popularly and so efficiently directed at capitalism and the capitalists are now aimed at Lewis and his henchmen. It would be worth a dollar to be present at any meeting of the United Mine Workers board of strategy to hear the comments when the *ILLINOIS MINER* is read.

Supplying the powder and lead of the *ILLINOIS MINER* and Oscar Ameringer is John Fishwick, described as "a conservative in the true sense of the word—one who conserves and adds to what has been built up. He does not love a fight for its own sake but once riled has the quiet, burning fury of the righteous man aroused to anger." With him is "tough minded" Frank Farrington, former president of the district who is now staging a comeback; "who delivers his words and sentences as a prize fighter delivers blows—in smashing, crashing, devastating fashion."

Lewis, on the other side of the trenches, is the same massive, deep voiced, pugnacious, gesture loving Lewis he always was. He, and what the *ILLINOIS MINER* picturesquely describes as his "executive boarders," as well as a full complement of organizers, are determined to oust the present officers of District No. 12 because, as advanced in a statement signed by the "Chief" himself: "The membership of District 12, aside from those who are on its official payrolls, stand aghast at the recent revelations of corrupt conditions in the district. He is a fool indeed who believes that our outraged membership will not move to punish the men who have betrayed their confidence and squandered their substance." Of course, "aghast" and "outrage" are used more for rhetorical emphasis than to describe an actual state of feeling.

Finds Excuse to Revoke Charter

Nevertheless, Mr. Lewis went on a "fishing" expedition into a real estate deal in which some lesser officials of District No. 12 were involved, but found nothing to be aghast over. While "fishing," he did discover that some of the officers of sub-district No. 9, in handling relief money during a strike, allegedly split commissions with the agency supplying food to the strikers. This gave him the first opportunity to enter the hitherto self-sustaining province of District 12. The charter of sub-district No. 9 was revoked at once, its officers ousted, and John T. Jones, one of Lewis's supporters, was placed in charge of a "provisional government" that was immediately established. Thus at least part of District 12 is now under the direct jurisdiction of the International office.

On the other hand, District 12 reminds Lewis that he has no business there at all. They admit that sub-

AN OUTRAGEOUS DECISION

Union Door Closed to Powers Hapgood

THE liberal spirit which was in evidence at the A. F. of L. convention at Toronto has not penetrated John L. Lewis's Executive Board. Amidst libel suits, ouster proceedings and ambitious plans for the invasion of District 12, the bombastic president of the United Mine Workers finds time for witch burning and heresy hunting. In an outrageous decision which cannot stand the light of day, Lewis refuses to reinstate Powers Hapgood who was expelled from the organization without a trial in violation of the union's constitution, while active as a pick and shovel miner. Lewis remains autocratic and reactionary to the bitter end.

In a rejoinder to the charges levelled against him, Hapgood painstakingly replies to every count brought forth by the Executive Board in defense of its act. Among the reasons given for keeping him out of the union are, "that his original entrance into the union was cloaked in mystery, irregularity and deceit"; that there are a lot of miners out of work who cannot find employment; and that it would not be proper to confer "membership on a man of means."

Hapgood points out that even before he graduated from Harvard he worked for his living in the coal mines and has since been working at the trade of a miner or as an employee of the

workers themselves. His activities when in the miners union now charged to be disloyal were directed against certain officials "who were wilfully and consciously perverting and violating the fundamental principles of the organization," he shows. His membership in the union, ever since he joined in 1920 is not a matter of mystery but very clear, substantiated throughout by the records of the locals of which he was a member. The charge that Hapgood is a man of means he calls "both ridiculous and untrue. I have what I earn as a worker."

Despite the ban placed upon him early this year by the Mine Workers' Executive Board, Powers Hapgood circulated a petition for the union scale in the unorganized mine where he worked. He was called as one of two witnesses by an International union organizer and testified for the United Mine Workers before the Industrial Commission of Colorado which granted a favorable decision for them. Hapgood also spoke in September at a mass meeting of miners on the same platform with the president of the State Federation of Labor and with an organizer of the miners urging the men to join the United Mine Workers of America. He is still earning his living digging coal at a Colorado mine where he continues to agitate for the union.

county and will stand trial for their alleged misdeeds. And this is no reason for the International union to come in and illegally to take things into its own hands. The constitution of District No. 12, is especially rigged up to prevent just such aggression against its autonomy of which it now complains. It provides that "no authority other than the membership of District No. 12 shall be allowed to invade, impair or hamper the right of the before mentioned officers of District No. 12 to act as such custodians or to interfere with their right as the accredited officers of this district to collect money and to acquire property for District No. 12 and to disburse and dispose of the same as provided in this constitution."

The Illinois boys scoff at the allegation that it was to stamp out corruption that brought Lewis into District 12. They review with painstaking meticulousness the past record of the United Mine Workers of America under Lewis's leadership and come to the conclusion that he really has in mind the healthy treasury and property holdings of the district as well as the regular inflow of per capita, which no doubt looks very tempting. All kinds of other reasons are given for Lewis's present action towards the officers of District 12, some of them going back further than a young man can remember. Others have their roots in the ebb and flow of immediate events. But the big cry is: What Lewis has done to the United Mine Workers in general he will do to us now.

And well may District 12 fear! As during all controversies of this nature the truth which is more or less effectively hidden from view when everything is peaceful comes to the top. So now, while charges and countercharges fly thick and fast, the tragic story of the United Mine Workers of America, once the great fighting, militant, winning army of 442,057 dues paying members, is being nakedly portrayed.

"The Wrecker"

In a red-hot pamphlet entitled, "The Wrecking of the Miners' Union," Frank Farrington, in addition to paying his personal respects to John L. Lewis in words that would take the hair off a Congo head hunter, presents a sorrowful tale of the quick decay of this magnificent fighting machine. Ohio, where the union was born and where the membership a few years back counted about 40,000 can now only report 1,498. Central Pennsylvania slid from about the same high point to 1,401. Western Pennsylvania suffered even greater losses. West Virginia suffered a setback of from 67,000 in 1921 to 32 today. Kentucky can now count only 88 members. In the Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas districts the membership dwindled from 30,000 eight years ago to 128 in 1929. When Lewis assumed office 75 per cent of the coal was mined under union conditions. At the present time 90 per cent of the output comes from open shop mines. In a boxed statement, under the heading: "Quit Bellowing About Stolen Beans—Explain

COMPLIMENTS TO LEWIS

DIGNITY JAZZED, JOHN L. GOES HOG WILD IN HIS LATEST SPASM

FEARS LIBEL SUIT; DEMANDS OUSTING OF LAWYER LEWIS

AROUSED MINERS DARE LEWIS TO TRY TO WRECK ILLINOIS DISTRICT

"Take Your Stool Pigeons Out,"

Demand of Men

THE PLEASURE IS ALL OURS

Now the Cat Is Out of the Bag—and It's a Wild Cat

Head Hunter or Conspirator—Which?

Oh, Hell—What's the Use?

"The Illinois Miner" marshals all its batteries in its fight on John L. Lewis, U. M. W. head.

"Murder of Our Union," the ILLINOIS MINER quotes comparative statistics for 1921 and 1929, showing that the miners' membership in the bituminous fields in those intervening nine years dropped from 365,740 to 84,369. Frank Farrington's figures for 1929 are 98,040.

In the midst of this general and rapid decline the Illinois district was the only one able to stem the tide of dissolution. Out of the total bituminous membership, 53,088 are in that district. Of the 44,942 remaining 13,644 are in the Canadian provinces, leaving a membership of 31,308 for the rest of the soft coal districts in the whole United States. The Illinois field is the only complete district working under a closed shop agreement. "Who is he," the Illinois mine workers ask, referring to Lewis, "to want to come in here to clean up conditions?" In the face of the above figures the question is more than rhetorical.

The debacle in the Miners' union is only part of the story. A good deal of inside "dope" is now being spilt. And the question is being raised whether Lewis was really elected president in 1926. No one who has followed labor developments recently will forget the famous fight between John L. Lewis and John Brophy in that year. There was a genuine revolt at the time against the Lewis domination of the organization and a

tremendous amount of sentiment developed among the rank and file for a change. John Brophy, then President of District No. 2, outstanding in his honesty and ability and in his achievements in his own territory, was a very popular choice among masses of the miners. Yet when the ballots were turned in and "counted," Brophy, according to the tellers' report, received a terrific beating. Accordingly, Brophy lost his job as President of his district and subsequently, because of attacks directed against him, had to leave the industry altogether in order to earn a living. But if part of the story of ballot stuffing in the campaign is any criterion of what went on everywhere, then Brophy could have been elected by a comfortable majority.

While all this dirty linen is being washed out thoroughly in the open sunlight Lewis has been authorized by the international executive board to take "whatever action" he thinks fit to "clean up conditions" in Illinois. Lewis immediately ordered the executive board of District 12 to strike from its constitution that section which forbids any one else but the district to interfere with the handling of property owned by it. This clause was quoted in an early paragraph of this story. Backed by the international executive board, he also ordered that the seat of George Stouffer, district executive board member for Peoria, be vacated because, according to Louis, Stouffer is

not a coal miner. In the correspondence which flowed back and forth between Lewis, his executive board and the others of District 12 some of the language used was so careless that in addition to his other troubles Lewis has now two healthy sized law suits on his hands. A. C. Lewis, no relation to John L. but attorney for District 12 and Harry Madden, former international executive board member and present district board member, have filed suits for action to the tune of \$250,000 each on the grounds of defamation of character.

So there the situation stands. The executive board of District 12 has refused every demand issued by Lewis and his international executive board. It insists that its constitution cannot be changed willy-nilly to please the international officers and will resist by every means the desire of Lewis to take control of the district.

But whatever the outcome, it cannot paste the shattered remnants of this once powerful host together. To many this latest invasion of the only sound district of the U. M. W. looks like the last desperate stand of a beaten man. It may be that while the fight is raging on the Illinois front the rank and filers may take courage and begin again the long and weary process of building up the union.

Decline of Ohio Labor

Calls for New Methods to Win

By LLOYD M. CROSCRAVE

The article which follows is not an editorial statement and does not set forth the official position of LABOR AGE or the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. It is printed here as a serious contribution to the discussion of an important problem, coming from one who has been in close touch with the labor movement for many years and who has served it in various capacities and whose loyalty to organized labor and the cause of the workers cannot be questioned.

FROM November 7, 1928 to May 4, 1929, I was Publicity Agent and Educational Adviser of the Ohio State Federation of Labor. Four years previously, I had spent six months in Ohio as agent of the Workers' Education Bureau.

So far as I know, I do not have a single enemy in organized labor in Ohio and I certainly feel no enmity toward any individual therein.

Ohio is the third most important industrial state in the Union; it has more large cities in it than any other state; it is a very typical state, being neither North, South, East or West; it has a wide variety of industries. What goes on there is of interest to all who give attention to labor matters.

There are about 1,300,000 wage earners in Ohio; about 150,000 of them are organized; of these, about 85,000 belong to the Ohio State Federation of Labor. There is not a single industrial plant in Ohio with over 1,000 employees that recognizes organized labor. The major portion of the State Federation membership is in the building trades.

A Shrinking Body

The Ohio State Federation of Labor is smaller now than it has been at any time since the war and its size steadily diminishes.

There are no paid officials of the Ohio State Federation of Labor except Mr. Thomas J. Donnelly, who is Secretary, Treasurer and Legislative Agent. He is provided with two stenographers. I was temporarily employed last winter for the time stated above and there was an assistant legislative agent while the legislature was in session.

Mr. Donnelly is progressive in his ideas and, though well along in years, is a hard worker.

Mr. Arnold Bill, President of the Federation, receives no salary and can give to the organization only odds and ends of his time.

In the Legislature, the Federation supported 62

bills; not one of them was passed. Mr. Donnelly, in his report as Legislative Agent, truly stated that in the Legislature, organized labor had "few friends and no champions." For the most part the employers at committee meetings did not find it necessary even to answer the arguments of organized labor. They merely signified their desire that the measure being considered be killed and it was killed.

The State Federation is not taking part directly in any organizing activities. My work last winter was to promote publicity for the Federation and particularly to institute Forums on union matters that, it was hoped, would indirectly stimulate organization.

"What's the Use?"

I found that interest in organized labor affairs was limited almost altogether to the older men and, for the most part, was not very great among them. Attendance at trades and labor assemblies was very small and in a considerable number of cases these organizations had been suspended altogether. It was very hard, indeed, to get any Forums started. The prevailing sentiment was despondency and the most frequently asked question was: "What's the use?"

In the case of Forums that were started, dissatisfaction with organized labor as it now exists in America was freely expressed in every meeting.

Four years ago the organized wage earners of Ohio were fairly well satisfied with the industrial world as a whole and with the American Federation of Labor. Today, it can truthfully be said that they are much dissatisfied with both.

So far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned, dissatisfaction with its policies is evident on every hand. Its officers are freely accused of being negligent and unprogressive, its methods are considered obsolete. The building trades, where they are well organized, are satisfied with their own policy, as they have a right to be. Their feeling toward the A. F. of L. is the same as that of the other workers, however, and, indeed, they constitute the dominant part of union sentiment.

While labor in Ohio is very tired of the A. F. of L., it must not for a minute be thought that labor is satisfied to be unorganized or is satisfied with company unions. As stated before, I found the need for an effective organization of labor to be much more felt in Ohio last winter than I did four years before.

The time has come for a new labor federation. The A. F. of L. is out of date just as the Knights of Labor were out of date in 1880. It is not anybody's fault—it is the result of an inevitable change in circumstances—particularly of the growth of very large corporations,

THE NEED FOR A LABOR CULTURE

By DAVID J. SAPOSS

The following contribution, prepared by Mr. Saposs of Brookwood Labor College, recognized authority on labor history and labor problems, is a short resume of a much more comprehensive study which will soon be published in pamphlet form in the Progressive Labor Library Series.

It is here published to provoke thought and interest in the fuller analysis soon to follow.

THE prize need in the United States at present is an *effective labor movement*, in order to counteract rampant and welfare capitalism. An effective labor movement is only possible when it is based upon a *labor culture*; that is, a mode of feeling, thinking and acting in terms of the problems and aspirations of labor. And this attitude must in turn permeate and inspire a *completely rounded out labor movement*, the organizations of which function in all important fields of human endeavor.

As dwellers in the Machine Age we are subjects of a capitalistic culture. But there are minority cultural groups taking issue with this dominantly inhuman and anti-social capitalistic culture. In all important industrial countries, except the United States, the outstanding minority cultural group is the labor movement, which explains why organized labor through its manifold organizations and activities is such a tremendous social force in those countries.

The labor movement in this country was well on the way to developing a labor culture with a rounded out labor movement including unions, cooperatives, politi-

cal parties, mutual benefit societies, a press, workers' education, and so on. Then came the American Federation of Labor with its business unionism, which deliberately discouraged all working class organizational activity except unions, and which led the workers to immerse themselves in the capitalistic culture. This attitude automatically destroyed the incipient labor movement and labor culture, with its traditions and customs, finally even resulting in the weakening of the trade union movement, so that in general it is weaker now than it has ever been in its history.

Intellectually, it has had even a greater demoralizing effect, for in all his important activities the worker in the United States is surrounded with a point of view that is anti-labor, or at best non-labor. Practically every institution or organization with which he comes in contact is either hostile or has no direct and intelligent interest in the ideals of labor. This situation holds true of his political party, church, athletic club, fraternal and benefit society, press, theatre, store, and so on. And the only agency to which the organized worker belongs that might counteract the anti-labor sentiments and opinions of his environment is the trade union, pigmy in stature, poor and feeble in spiritual, intellectual and philosophic content. And to make matters worse the trade union movement is apologetically striving to fuse itself with the capitalistic culture.

Is it any wonder that even Union members are generally indifferent, if not ashamed of their union affiliations, to say nothing of the broader implications that labor stands for. Is it any wonder that the unorganized workers are generally equally hostile to conservative and radical unions and other labor activities?

Hence in order to develop an effective labor movement in this country, we must begin by developing a labor culture as the foundation for a completely rounded out labor movement encompassing the organization of the workers on all important fields of human endeavor.

employing workers of many trades, and the coming of the no-trade worker who is merely the adjunct of a machine.

Give us a labor federation that should be one of industrial unions rather than of trade unions and the situation in Ohio will be entirely changed. The workers will welcome such an organization with enthusiasm. The young men will rush into it and fight for it. It will invade the gigantic industries and will include those who have no trades as well as the diminishing number that have trades. It will fill the legislature with men friendly to organized labor. In making the above statements I am not setting forth merely my own guesses. I am stating what I am sure is the

prevailing sentiment in organized labor in Ohio today.

Such a federation will, of course, be fatal to the existing trade unions and to the A. F. of L. and will be bitterly opposed by a few. But such opposition may be ignored. Those who provide the opposition will be left stranded and alone. Our job is not to throw mud at the Old Guard but to form organizations that are rational and up to date. If necessary we may provide pensions for those old labor leaders who will necessarily be removed because they belong to a former age. The workers of Ohio will flock to such organizations with a whoop and the A. F. of L. and the craft unions, their predecessor, the Knights of Labor, will become an honored memory.

Flashes from the Labor World

Boss Baldwin Gloats Over Massacre

Did someone rise to remark that the labor movement is dead? Please refer him to the writer of these notes, who has been working a 12-hour day for months in a vain effort to keep up with the flow of labor news that rushes in from every part of this broad, fat land, but principally from the south.

* * *

Has there been such drama, such excitement in labor news since war days? The story of the revolt of the Marion, N. C., cotton mill workers against the 67-hour week and a \$12 wage, of their massacre by gunmen operating in the guise of law and order, and of the incredibly callous and brutal attitude of Mill Boss Baldwin constitutes a labor epic rarely equalled in the long annals of American labor history.

In the short scope of this resume of labor news, it is hopeless to tell that story, and unnecessary because the C. P. L. A. has done a first rate job of reporting the strike and massacre in its Pamphlet No. 2 of the Progressive Labor Library. But nothing in the memory of this correspondent exceeds the inhumanity of Boss Baldwin who in talking to reporters, among them Tom Tippet, correspondent, said:

"Son, you said there were 60 to 75 shots fired? Well, if there were, I'll say the sheriff and his men were good marksmen. If ever I organize an army, they can have jobs with me. There was three tons of lead used in the world war to kill every man. Here we used less than five pounds and four are dead and 20 wounded. Damned good, I say."

If Boss Baldwin had waited a few days, he could have bragged of even greater efficiency on the part of his gunmen. For six strikers are dead now. Many are maimed for life. In all 30 were wounded by the 60 shots; two died the same day, two within a few days and two more within a week. And not a deputy was wounded in what the capitalist press reported to be a "battle." Labor more accurately described it as a massacre!

Sheriff Oscar Adkins was seen to hold 65-year-old George Jonas and fire a pistol point blank into his body. The old man was tossed, handcuffed, into a police car, taken to the hospital and tossed on the operating table with the handcuffs still on. Old George Jonas died the same day. This hospital, built partly with money the Dukes wrung from their tobacco slaves, and partly with the Marion mill workers' pennies, later turned the wounded out of doors because they had no money. Sheriff Adkins and Supt. Hunt of the mill,

Judge Barnhill, by allowing atheism and communism to enter the trial, condemned the seven organizers in the eyes of the old fundamentalist farmers who constituted the jury. Ample evidence of this is that the first jury was unanimous for acquittal after it had heard only the state's side. The second jury, after Solicitor Carpenter had finished his hymn of hate against radicalism was solid for conviction.

But though Carolina can send seven men to the pen for defending themselves against drunken police, it

LEADERS OF THE MARION STRIKE



The first two, standing at left, are Bill Ross and Lawrence Hogan; the last two, standing at right, are Lawrence Bradley and Alfred Hoffman. Front row, at extreme right, Dan Elliott.

Ross and Hoffman are Brookwood graduates; Hogan, Bradley and Elliott are now students at Brookwood.

leaders in the massacre, were white-washed by the grand jury.

* * *

Over in Gastonia and Charlotte things have happened to mill workers that seem incredible. Four northern Communist strike leaders were singled out by the reputedly fair and liberal Judge Barnhill and given 20-year terms in the penitentiary, although their part in the unwarranted police raid on the strikers' colony that resulted in Chief Aderholt's death was even more nebulous than the evidence adduced against the three Gastonia defendants.

can't find the slayers of Ella May, heroine of the Lorey strike. There were dozens in the mill posse that fired into the union truck which Ella May was riding in. Among them were bossmen at Lorey, respectable citizens of Gastonia. The strikers recognized them, but Solicitor Carpenter calmly told Judge Sink that he hadn't been able to put his hands on a one of them. Nine who were arrested were released for "lack of evidence." Judge Sink mildly expostulated that perhaps Carpenter hadn't tried to find any evidence. But that was as far as a Carolina judge could go.

As amazing was the trial of the four Lorey bossmen who kidnapped three union organizers and flogged one of them. The organizers kidnapped themselves and flogged their comrade, the defense, headed by Maj. A. L. Bulwinkle, ex-congressman and Lorey attorney, told the court! And so the floggers were freed.

But don't think Solicitor Carpenter hasn't been busy. When he wasn't occupied in rolling on the floor before the Charlotte jurors, calling union men "devils with hoofs and horns" and "fiends incarnate," he has been busy framing charges against Gastonia unionists. The witnesses in the kidnapping case are to be accused of perjury because they swore they saw Carpenter and Bulwinkle in the kidnapping mob. That's Carolina justice! (Please pardon all the exclamation points. Has there ever been such occasion before for using them?)

"It won't be safe," warns the Gastonia Gazette, "for any so-called labor agitator to be caught nosing around here any time soon. The folks here are simply not going to put up with it any longer." Which is a sufficient commentary on the results of Carolina justice.

* * *

It is a relief, if not a positive pleasure, to turn to northern labor news after reviewing the ghastly occurrence in Carolina. Perhaps a comic bit is not out of place. In Nazareth (why is Pennsylvania filled with Nazareths and Bethlehems, which prove to be cradles of open shopper?) the county jedge 'lowed as how no labor agitators were wanted there, either. So he obligingly signed an injunction prepared by Kraemer hosiery mill lawyers which simply forbade the Hosiery Workers Federation to send union organizers, speakers or literature into Nazareth.

The Federation, being a very law-abiding organization, and filled with the highest respect for the judiciary—as who ain't? obeyed the injunction. But now the League for American Rights, an organization in New York City not known in Nazareth, is sending in red-hot union appeals to the exploited hosiery workers, who are by no means enamored of their 12-hour shift. Company officials, re-

Two sons of R. W. Baldwin, president of the Marion Mfg. Co., experienced perhaps for the first time how it feels to be on the wrong side.

In Baltimore a mass meeting called to protest the Marion massacre, at which Rabbi Edward L. Israel presided and Tom Tippet was the principal speaker, and where \$350 was collected for the strikers, these two young men arose and attempted to contradict the facts presented by the speakers. Policemen were about to eject them from the hall when the chairman intervened, and they had their say. As it was, the dramatic interference of Boss Baldwin's sons only heightened the effect of Tippet's arraignment of the Southern mill owner's brutal methods.

ports Organizer Louis F. Budenz, are puzzled by the activity of this organization. The MacDonald labor spy outfit has not yet located its office.

* * *

There are three ways to deal with the old age pension problem. The state may support aged workers whose low wages have not permitted them to save. The boss may pension them as a "reward for 30 years of service." Or the union may do it. The trouble with bosses' pensions is that there are too many strings to them. A man has to work 20 or more years for a single concern, a highly improbable affair for the unskilled worker who most needs a pension in his old age. Worse, the fear of losing a chance at the pension ties the workers to his employer, killing union solidarity. The trouble with union pension schemes is that they entail far too great a drain on union treasuries. No union, no matter how powerful or wealthy, can afford to pay its aged members a decent pension. Even the Printers Union, oldest of all internationals and among the strongest, finds its 1 per cent pension assessment utterly inadequate for the aged and too draining for the organization.

H. H. Broach, the young and aggressive vice president of the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, believes he has solved the problem, so far as the electricians of New

York are concerned. Through his efforts an insurance scheme has just been evolved which marks a radical departure in the theory and practice of pensions. The Broach plan compels all contractors dealing with New York Local 3 to pay 20 cents an hour for each of their employees into an insurance fund. From this fund, which will have a turnover of \$1,500,000 annually, electricians over 65 will draw \$40 a month pensions, disabled union members will get \$30 a month and beneficiaries of those who die will get \$3,000.

The good points of this plan is that it does not tie the worker to his boss in any way. It strengthens the union by providing a huge sum in which contractors are mighty interested. And the contractor has nothing to do with who is to get the pension.

The weak point, of course, is that only a strong union led by such an aggressive organizer as Broach—and there are few Broachs in the union movement—can hope to force employers to deal so generously with the aged and disabled. And in the big unorganized industries—only federal and state pensions can solve the problem for all workers.

* * *

Typical of Big Business Unionism is the decision of the American Federation of Musicians to spend \$500,000 to fight synchronized music in the movies—otherwise known as the "squawkies." The half million is to be spent in 600 newspapers in 400 communities in the United States and Canada. And more will be spent, if necessary, Pres. Weber told Federated Press. Representations have been made to Pres. Weber that \$50,000 of the \$500,000 might be spent in the labor press with good affect. The Boot and Shoe Workers Union has long advertized in the labor press to boost the union label. \$50,000 spent in 100 leading labor papers in the country would mean a lot, not only to the struggling business office, but in adding to labor morale. Unionists would respond, too, to such ads placed in their own papers.

This department prepared from Federated Press news reports by Harvey O'Connor, Eastern Bureau Manager of The Federated Press.

Progressives Are Organizing

Speakers Tour Country for C. P. L. A.

C. P. L. A'ers are by no means glum these days. With the Toronto convention of the A. F. of L. making an excellent start in adopting some of the planks of their program all progressives are more confident than ever that their methods of injecting "progressive pep" into America's labor movement is bearing fruit and the future is rosy. With hardly any time for effective organization and only after less than six months of agitation, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action was able to show the light to the A. F. of L.'s leadership on such important questions as old age pensions, militarism and organization of the South. These three issues are dealt with more extensively elsewhere in this number.

But there is no resting on any laurels. The little whiff of progressivism thus far injected into the A. F. of L. deliberations is hardly a beginning. We must yet have Matt Woll repudiate his America's Wage Earners Protective League; the American Legion must be definitely divorced from labor conventions; the organization of an independent labor party must be effected, and so forth and so forth.

Meanwhile membership affiliations and inquiries on how to organize C. P. L. A. branches are coming in with encouraging rapidity. Following the New York example, where a branch is not only organized but in good working order, Los Angeles away across the continent is falling in line. Other centers where branches either have been organized or are in the process of forming were detailed in the last number of LABOR AGE.

To stimulate action in that direction the National Executive Committee at its last meeting decided to send out a number of its representatives throughout the country. During the next six weeks the most important cities between New York and Chicago will be covered by A. J. Muste, Chairman of the C. P. L. A. and Israel Mufson, Executive Secretary. Progressives desiring dates for either of the two should communicate at once with the C. P. L. A. office, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York. In addition, points between Seattle, Washington and Chicago will be covered by a third C. P. L. A. representative beginning with January 1, 1930.

While these tours are being planned the Pittsburgh branch of the C. P. L. A. has already gotten busy and performed a very good service for labor. When 200 freight handlers of the Pennsylvania Railroad were out on strike last month the local progressives raised some money for their relief and helped to maintain the picket line. Though the men were forced to return as individuals they were able to obtain a raise of six cents an hour, the eight hour day and time and one-half for overtime.

Out in Chicago a cordial greeting was extended us

by the United Welders of America, an independent organization of 6,000 members. The officers expressed thorough sympathy for the principles of the C. P. L. A. and the individual members will align themselves with the progressive groups of their respective localities.

II.

This continued strengthening of the progressive forces is having ever increasing effects on the state of mind of our labor leaders. Not so long ago it was worth one's life to express doubt about this here capitalistic system being a permanent arrangement of social living. Right after the last convention of the Workers Education Bureau, where, it will be recalled, progressives had everything taken away from them, including their store teeth, Thomas E. Burke, the newly elected President of the Bureau, confidently stated that workers' education does not stand for a new social order because capitalism, as now prevailing, will last forever and forever. Matt Woll at that time didn't say anything but through his silence must have lent consent to the President's views. Woll, however, learned something since. In an interview appearing in the NEW YORK WORLD of October 6, he unqualifiedly prophesied a condition of near Socialism for the future of American industry.

"Labor is suffering and will continue to suffer severely as long as these gigantic mergers of the industrial world continue," he said. "The masses of laboring people will be throttled and discriminated against until finally they will turn to their voting power for relief. *Then the State will step into control of industry.*" (Italics ours).

If this doesn't mean a labor party for the purpose of labor control of industry then words have no meaning.

That this is exactly what enlightened labor is yearning for is proved by the action of the Teachers' Union of Portland, Oregon. Convinced that the "turn to their voting power for relief" in order to control industry should be the program of labor now, this local has sent in 26 subs for LABOR AGE to help the good work along of changing labor's attitude on politics and industry. If this keeps up Brother Burke will soon find himself a minority of one.

Before this occurs, however, there are many minds yet to be changed. Even Brother Woll, embracing as he does Socialism for the future, needs a little enlightenment at present on the tariff. He and the 16 unions comprising his Wage Earners Protective League ought to prefer once in a while to a good progressive labor paper, like the MONTANA LABOR NEWS, for example, to set themselves straight on the subject.

"It is generally true," this wide awake labor weekly says editorially, "wages and other factors remaining the

STUDENTS AT BROOKWOOD



Capacity enrollment opened the 1929-30 season of Labor's only resident college at Katonah, N. Y. The student body includes laundry, men's clothing, women's garment, textile, radio and millinery workers, carpenters, carmen, clerks, longshoremen, machinists, miners, painters and hod-carriers.

same, the lower the price the greater the consumption of a given commodity. And for that reason should our industrial overlords succeed in stepping up the price of commodities, through the operation of an onerous tariff, the quantity of even necessities will diminish in consumption."

III.

If Brother Woll will continue to watch the expressions of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action for leads on how to stand on labor measures, as he did on old age pensions, he can still save himself from ridiculous attitudes. That he is watching is evidenced by many straws that waft through the breezes. But he should exercise his right as President of the International Labor News Service to edit from time to time some of the news items that appear in its releases. He cannot afford, now that his position is so ticklishly precarious, not to let his right hand know what his left hand is doing. We referred to several items in the last issue. Here is another one:

"Left wing critics," the I. L. N. S. splurges, "organized as the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, led by A. J. Muste, of Brookwood, have just issued another long statement, declaring that they are going to hammer away in the effort to mould the American Federation of Labor 'nearer to their hearts' desire," whether the 'reactionary' leaders like it or not.

"Just how the cloistered minority of Gotham is to bring about its great revival and reshaping of the labor movement is not yet clear."

In the first place, to correct ignorant reporting, the I. L. N. S. should be informed, if it does not already know, that the cloistered minority, which really should have reference to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is not so cloistered nor so minor as its editor hopes. The revolt against A. F. of L. reactionary policies is as widespread as was the revolt against the Czar's autocratic government

and in both instances those sitting on the lid were equally as ignorant of it.

Meanwhile the progressives are sawing wood and letting the chips fly where they will. We long contended that a vigorous campaign among the unskilled workers will bring new life into the movement. The tired members in the existing unions will catch the new spirit and regain new enthusiasms. Again we hit the mark 100 per cent. In an interview with a representative of the Federated Press, which, by the way, unlike the I. L. N. S., has its eyes and ears wide open and is head and shoulders above the I. L. N. S. in covering labor news throughout the country, A. F. of L. organizer Gooze of Atlanta declared that the uprising of the textile workers in the South is putting new fire in all the old unions. When President Green sent him to South Carolina in April, he said, the Greenville unions told him there was no use in attempting to organize cotton mill workers now because they will be confused with the Gastonia Communists. Six months later, according to Gooze, Greenville sprouted a new Central Trades and Labor Council which it never had before, and the United Textile Workers has 3,000 members where it had none last spring. The I. L. N. S. can now note one of the ways by which to "reshape" the movement.

And finally, winding up the month's recital of progressive activities, there is no greater pleasure than bringing to the fore an old fighter for militant unionism who still, at 95, stands with progressivism four-square to the wind, Mother Jones.

In a telegram of greeting to "her boys" in Illinois she said:

"In the name of our martyrs who stood and fought and were not afraid to die for human justice, I call upon you members of District 12 to save the union from all enemies, whether they be high officials within or forces without."

I. L. N. S. please copy.

MILLIONS FOR THE SOUTH

Why So Few Members?

A Scripps-Howard editorial has evoked the wrath of President Green of the A. F. of L. He cites figures to prove its untruthfulness in saying the A. F. of L. has ignored the Southern field.

Says President Green:

"During the last 25 years the United Textile Workers, striving with all its difficulties, sent to the South for organizing purposes more than \$1,080,000. Is that staying out of the South? Where did that money come from? From the organized labor movement.

"During the last five years or more machinists spent \$300,000 there; federal employes more than \$600,000 in five years; United Garment Workers more than \$50,000 in five years. The carpenters spent at least \$178,000 a year, the electrical workers more than \$25,000, the maintenance-of-way organization more than \$30,000, the railroad telegraphers more than \$200,000 in one strike, the operative engineers \$35,000, plumbers and steamfitters \$50,000 a year, bookbinders \$10,000 in two years and in Alabama alone the United Mine Workers spent more than \$5,000,000 trying to organize that field.

"The United Brick and Clay Workers expended about \$17,000 in one year in Tennessee a few years ago. The bricklayers spent \$250,000 in one year for organizing bricklayers.

"Does that look like ignoring the South for 30 years?"

One reads this rejoinder and then wonders, is this the proverbial mountain laboring and bringing forth a mouse?

Why is there so little to show for so much money spent?

Can it be craft selfishness, which prevents real solidarity and united action?

Can it be racial discrimination that defeats itself by turning the Negroes into embittered scabs and strike breakers?

Can it be political patronage that ties labor leaders up with conditions as they are, to the disgust of intelligent workers?

Can it be "business unionism," that is repudiated by employer and employee alike, a la New Orleans?

Can it be a lack of labor culture that makes the whole working class one and that makes them consequently act as one?

Can it be the fear of new ideas and new elements destructive of bureaucratic control and Civic Federation interests?

Can it be lack of social vision—a failure to perceive the dawn of a new social order, by, of and for the workers?

What can it be that is wrong—that with money we get no real improvement? Is it sabotage of progressive efforts?

What is basically wrong with the A. F. of L.? Is it inherently obsolete and dying of dry rot and inadaptability in an age of giant mergers? We wonder.

JUSTUS EBERT.

HERE AND THERE

Have you got a good story to tell? What is doing in your union, your shop, your office or in your community? Many things happen around you that would be interesting to all the readers of LABOR AGE. Send it in and we'll do the rest.

RHODE ISLAND STUDYING PROBLEMS

IT is commonly said that Providence machinists are more indifferent to trade unionism than machinists in other cities. Of course, that is rot—men are men the world over and what one group does another group can be depended upon to do. Likewise, if proper methods are used they can be gotten into a state of mind similar to that of the first group. Our problem is to create a desire-to-organize frame of mind.

At the recent New England conference of machinists the delegates decided to have a qualified psychologist present at the next conference to be held in January in order to give us some insight into motivational psychology. We want to know how to apply the principles of psychology to the problems confronting us.

The labor movement here, through the state branch of the American Federation of Labor, is to make arrangements for holding a conference of all organizations and individuals in and out of the labor movement to consider all legislative questions pertaining to labor for submission to the State legislature. The State Federation also endorsed old age pensions and it instructed the Executive Council to make a study for a plan to place labor candidates in nomination for political offices—in other words, the problem of launching a Labor Party in Rhode Island!

JOHN M. GANCO,

Member of International Association of Machinists, Providence, R. I.

LABOR PARTY NEEDED

NEVER before in the history of the labor movement has a labor party been more urgently needed than now, and nowhere is the field for political action by the workers more promising than in the south. Standing at the gateway to the south is Baltimore, just as New York is the gateway to the north.

Heavy industries are rapidly locating in Baltimore, making it a key city for organization work. Ships, aircraft, iron, steel and textile products are manufactured in Baltimore. Railroad lines to the south run through it. But Baltimore has hardly been touched by trade unions.

This suggests the other chief problem down here, and that is the Negro. He cannot be disregarded. If the union doesn't organize him, the employer will. Why not kill two birds with one stone then, and build a trade union movement and a labor party simultaneously? Easier said than done, maybe, but it doesn't hurt to keep hammering away at the idea.

JOSEPH HUTTER,

Member of International Pocketbook Workers' Union, Baltimore, Md.

In Other Lands

UNEMPLOYMENT ISSUE TESTS LABOR PARTY

With the opening of Parliament there comes the real troubles and ultimate test of the Labor Government. MacDonald on the high seas could not be on hand to lead the way in stating the case for the Ministry and in elucidating its program of reform. His place was taken by Snowden who is more of a left wing liberal than a Socialist. The Labor Party Conference and the Trade Union Congress indicated that the Government had no radical plan to aid the unemployed or to relieve the hard-pressed middle class taxpayers. The policy of legalism, cheese paring and trimming as forecast by the leaders does not appeal to the imagination of the masters but it keeps Lloyd George and his followers on their good behavior. It also in a measure takes the wind out of the sails of Stanley Baldwin who has his own troubles with the "Young Bloods" in his party.



Picture of a Labour Exchange Official determining the state of mind of an applicant for Unemployment Benefit

New Leader, Eng.

"The Hague Hero" makes a bold front on finances but does not get after the banks and the "City" magnates who control credit and prevent reorganization of industry. The twelve million won at the Hague from Germany, like the mysterious

Cæsar turned to clay, may stop a hole and keep the dogs at bay, it does not keep the wind away from the unemployed.

The coal mining situation has the same quantity of dynamite and danger it always had. Rationalization has not settled the coal problem and nationalization, the one remedy, is being dodged by every one but the Socialists, Arthur Cook and his followers. The matter of hours may be compromised but the handling of uneconomic mines cannot be passed up or smoothed over. Thomas's trip to Canada while rosy at first is beginning to be a dud on account of British capitalists being unable to respond to the exigencies of Canada's wants. Sir Henry Thornton C. N. R. director, stated bluntly that the British had no proper sales machinery and that Canada could not waste time waiting for the British to get ready or to rise to the situation. This plainly means that Canada will trade where profitable and will not accept sentiment as a substitute. No doubt the Baldwin and George opposition are watching for their chance to overthrow the government. This does not mean that MacDonald is timid or that he would desert his colleagues. It simply means that the opposition would be obliged to go slow and in the traditional spirit of fair play be compelled to "give Mac a chance." A premature general election would do the Tories and Lloyd George more harm than good without

in any way hurting the Labor Party or lowering MacDonald's stock.

But whatever happens the unemployed can no longer be used as a political football. A remedy must be found or the Labor Party will be given a set back for ten or twenty years. It would also force the workers from the moderate to the violent ranks of political action. As none of the unions are overloaded with funds the arguments of the past about regularity can not be used should the Progressives in the Party and in the unions make a break and organize along other and more aggressive lines of action.

The trouble in the textile industry and the wage cuts and threatened cuts in the cotton and woolen trades and the railways make the Government's position more difficult. All of which is due to the party's swing too far to the Right, and of its having admitted too many Liberals and Mondists into its ranks and councils.

The glamor of MacDonald's foreign policy is not going to save him from the realism of economics at home.

AUSTRALIA'S VICTORY

This Commonwealth astounded the reactionists of the world by making the word commonweal a fact instead of a piece of legal fiction by the election of the Labor Party to power and giving it a clear majority over all parties. The first time, with the exception of Russia, it happened in any country in the civilized world. This epochmaking event has been credited in part to Britain, to Ramsay MacDonald and to other factors and forces. While not belittling the psychological value of the Labor victory at the British elections I do not believe it has such a far reaching effect as to influence the polling in the Antipodes. The issues that were battled over by the opposing parties in Australia were local. The late government had surrendered its merchant fleet to the steamship trust of Britain without getting any compensating protection on rates from the P. and O. and other lines now calling at her ports. The unfairness of the high courts on labor matters played a part in educating the people. Bigger and better were the attempts to deflate wages, increase immigration and to abolish the Federal arbitration system in favor of the states courts. Imperialism, preached by Bruce who made the Commonwealth a handmaid of big business and a partner of all the schemes for exploitation hatched in London was also a factor. MacDonald is lucky for he will now have two important states, viz.: Australia and Ireland, with him in his peace conference program.

IRELAND'S STRIKES

Like its sister country, Britain, Ireland has had a series of strikes. The trolley strike of Dublin fought by a union affiliated with the British Congress has ended in a partial victory for the men. The Free State government behaved like capitalist executives everywhere and leaned toward the bosses. Belfast has a shipyard strike and while small owing to the strikers holding the key position it played mischief with the industry as a whole.

P. L. QUINLAN.

LABOR AGE

GERMAN LABOR IN FIGURES

In the German magazine of the Ruhr Chamber of Commerce "Ruhr und Reich," there appeared recently a very interesting study of the business power of organized labor in Germany, from which we reprint a few illuminating passages:

Unions.—The membership of the "Free" (meaning non-partisan, in reality predominantly Socialist) Unions registered during the last year an increase of 451,000, or of 10 per cent; in comparison with the membership of the previous year.

The strongest of these unions, the Federation of Metal Workers, has now 944,310 dues paying members.

The income of these unions during the year 1928 reached the total of 221 million marks (about \$55,000,000). They count an army of 8,000 to 9,000 paid officers.

Political Party.—"The assets of the German Socialist (Social-Democratic) Party reached the sum of 40 million marks (about \$10,000,000). The annual income reaches 13-15 million."

During the last year this party of German labor increased its membership by 126,000. It has now 7,662 aldermen and 889 city mayors."

Workers' Co-operatives.—"The Central Union of the Consumers' Co-operatives did, during the past year, a business of 1,046,000,000 marks. An increase of 160 million (about 40 million dollars) in comparison with the business of the previous year.

"About one-third of this total—300 million marks—represents the value of products manufactured in industrial enterprises owned by the workers, consumers, co-operatives themselves.

"The net annual profit of this Co-operative Union was 53 million marks. It owns buildings and factories that have a value of 171 million marks; employs an army of 50,000 men and women, and manages—through its industrial department—35 manufacturing enterprises, among which one finds the biggest sausage factory in Germany.

Labor Bank.—"The Labor Bank had at the beginning of this year 125,000,000 marks in deposits, and did during the year a business of two billion marks. Its average annual dividend is 10 per cent of the invested capital (Note: No private person can be a shareholder of the Labor Bank. Its only stockholders are unions, co-operatives and Socialist organizations.—M. K.). This Bank also controls a number of industrial enterprises, including a big and successful building corporation, many printing plants, a large bicycle factory and an insurance company.

Besides this insurance company at the Labor Bank, German Labor has another insurance corporation, that is owned and controlled by the unions in partnership with the labor co-operatives. This company has already 1,471,000 policyholders and a working capital of 66 million marks. During the year this insurance company paid out 26 million marks in benefits."

Press.—German labor has a powerful press. This is especially true about its political branch—the Social-Democratic Party. This party has 196 newspapers with a

circulation that runs into the millions. During the last year the number of Socialist and labor periodicals was raised by another five. 188 of these periodicals are being published in their own printing plants. Their business management is centralized in a specially created corporation with supervised assets worth 47,000,000 marks. Their buildings and real estate are assessed at 17½ million marks, and their machinery is valued at 7½ millions...

Every publication pays a given percentage of its income into the party treasury.

And further, German labor has "besides the 196 Socialist publications, about 60 or 70 trade union papers and magazines."

This imposing list does not include the great and highly efficient army of Labor Representatives in the Reichstag (congress), Lantages (state legislatures) and other law making, administrative and judicial institutions of the former domain of the Kaisers. Nor does it mention the thousands and thousands of representatives of Labor in the state and federal employment offices; or in the committees that manage government Unemployment Relief; or in the semi-public machinery of old age, sick and invalid pensions; or the shop, factory and other forms of social insurance, and industrial counsels, that are so successfully laying the foundation for an Industrial Democracy in post-war Germany.

No wonder, therefore, that the employers' publication winds up its article with the melancholy remark, that "the organization of the bourgeoisie has nothing that could compare with this powerful Socialist structure." . . .

MARK K.

FRENCH LABOR GOES FORWARD

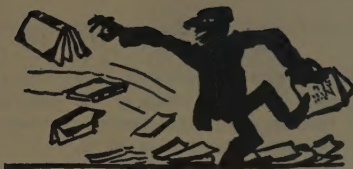
Paris. . . . The French labor movement which was almost smashed as the result of communist tactics is beginning to make real progress. In 1927 the Confederation General du Travail (French Federation of Labor) had a paid up membership of 593,256, in 1928, 644,337, and this year, at its recent convention, the membership was 700,000. 2,200 delegates representing 2,037 unions attended this gathering of French organized labor. Never did I see a more earnest convention of workers resolved to give their best for the improvement of workers' conditions. The convention was at all times harmonious with free, open debates. No time was lost in complimenting each other on the good work they did. But rather they were busy evolving new ways and methods for doing still better work for the future.

There were less revolutionary, empty phrases and catching slogans, less propaganda and more constructive plans for good labor educational work. The most pleasing thing about this convention was that no time was spent with communist partisans.

DAVID MIKOL.



"Say It With Books"



A NEW INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY

"Joy in Work," by Henri de Man (Holt, \$2).

"Psychology and Industrial Efficiency," by H. E. Burt (Appleton, \$3).

DE MAN'S "Psychology of Socialism" was widely discussed in Europe as an attempted revisionism of the Marxist basis of the Socialist movement. The author was forced by the war to recognize how strong in his own person was the force of nationalism and the book was in many ways an explanation and defense of his actions. To the reviewer, the book battered on an open door in its attack upon a mechanistic Marxism with its view of society behaving like an impersonal inhuman machine. (Soule, by the way, in "The Useful Art of Economics" also easily routs a Marxism in which human affairs are "completely beyond control.") Yet in a thousand suggestive ways De Man showed how old ideas and habits had been carried over into the Socialist movement and how workers were contaminated by capitalist culture. The book put forward as an alternative a mish-mash of the new psychology and ethical considerations.

In this later book De Man endeavors to combat the hard-shelled Marxist view that the worker is only a mere seller of labor-power. He shrewdly criticises the academic Marxism of the university chair and of bureaucratic political schemes for social change which ignore the feelings of the actual workers on the job. He analyzes in a thought provoking way the forms of joy in work and present obstacles to it. The main basis of the book consists of 78 autobiographical reports made to him by worker-students in the Frankfort Labor College. (These reports unfortunately are not included in the book.) He also uses observations made in the Ford and other American factories.

No one with any workshop experience will deny that normally the workers do get pleasure in their work. Until now novels of workers' life have been usually of the wailing wall type because the worker-writers, so far, are super-normal and sensitive misfits, at war with their surroundings. As a miner the reviewer recalls the pleasure felt in seeing a well loaded car of coal, good timbering and such like. Bricklayers are rightly proud of their handiwork and the unions often protect against jerry building. The electricians, particularly in Local No. 3 of the Electric Workers Brotherhood, according to the recent account given by H. H. Broach, are doing much to improve the quality and safety of electrical installations. Even in what often appears to be a mechanical repetition job the average worker finds satisfactory self-assertion. But it is these

very feelings which are outraged by capitalism which certainly does its best to make the human worker a mere animate commodity. The case for workers' control in industry has been well argued for on the grounds that it would release beneficially constructive and possessive instincts now repressed and perverted. The animistic way in which the worker identifies himself with his tools and the machine he operates and with the factory in which he works is additional reason for making collective ownership a fact. Cases are known where workers crash their way into a trade by a costly damaging of a series of machines, but to the average worker sabotage is anathema. What joy in the machine, however, is possible to the displaced out-of-work?

The author stresses the fact that the machine does not eliminate skill now as much as it did in the earlier days because in its complex stage its repairers and controllers need a certain amount of skill. Although in certain industries the use of spare parts is a countering factor he recognizes that a new ethic of labor is needed based on the idea "that work is a debt to the community." No centralized scheme of State ownership will satisfy the workers unless they have some say over their local working conditions.

There are many thought provoking sections on fatigue, mental and physical, and on initiative which a study class in workers' psychology would find useful. Of course, much more case material and knowledge are required but there is no doubt that industrial psychology could also be applied to assist in labor organization and to defend the workers against refined methods of speeding up and "welfare" work.

This last conclusion is reinforced by Burt's volume which teems with reports of interesting applications and experiments. Motion study advances year by year as the old personal relations between the small employer and his workers' needs. Burt is interested in joy in work only to see the extent that it increases the efficiency of labor. His assumption is that both worker and employer benefit. Lower costs, so he assumes, will increase demand "so that there will be no radical change in the long run from the employment standpoint." There are things in economics apparently which Mr. Burt has still to learn. The employers' control over the mental forces and the resulting increased exploitation will not lessen the final problems of capitalism. Yet the workers cannot be Luddites in this sphere and Mr. Burt explains clearly the improved efficiency methods prompted by industrial psychology which we can expect in the twentieth century. MARK STARR.

GERMANY'S AID TO JOBLESS

Unemployment Insurance in Germany, by Mollie Ray Carroll. The Absorption of the Unemployed by American Industry, by Isador Lubin. Published by the Brookings Institute, Washington, D. C.

WHILE the hue and cry about unemployment is gradually dying down, the structure of our economic system makes unemployment a serious problem which must be faced somewhat along the lines laid down by the countries of continental Europe—unemployment insurance. Those who desire a clear, impartial, detailed and comprehensive treatment of this subject would do well to read Miss Carroll's book on "Unemployment Insurance in Germany."

Without going into a detailed discussion of the comprehensive German Unemployment Insurance Act of 1927—the fruits of nine years' experimentation—it can be seen from the study that all classes are agreed that unemployment insurance is preferable to unemployment relief; that the state should administer the system and assume financial responsibility, that cost should not exceed 3 per cent of the payroll; and that employment exchanges should form an intrinsic part of such a system.

A somewhat shorter study related to unemployment is the pamphlet by Isador Lubin on "The Absorption of the Unemployed by American Industry." Though this study is based on a small but comprehensive sampling of 754 cases they are valuable in indicating a few noteworthy tendencies. For instance, only 55 per cent of the dispossessed workers were able to find new employment; that of these successful workers 11.5 per cent were idle one month before securing employment, while half were idle for more than three months. Many of these, in order to secure employment, were forced to seek employment for which their training and experience were useless.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

REVOLUTIONARY POETRY AND DOGGEREL

An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry, Edited by Marcus Graham, The Active Press, Inc.

ANTHOLOGIES of poetry are no novelty. Even Anthologies devoted to the poetry of revolt have been before, and some of them have had better reason to exist than this. If the verse here collected is the best that rebel poets have produced, it must be our sad conclusion that revolutionary ardor does not give rise to real poetic frenzy.

The case, however, is not as bad as at first glance it seems to be. Since the list of poems here reproduced fails to disclose William Vaughan Moody's "Gloucester-moors," or Swinburne's "Song in Time of Revolution" or Clarence Day's "Hottentottenville," we must conclude that it is perhaps not revolutionary poetry as such that has failed, but this particular anthologist who has overlooked outstanding examples of song. And if these, why not others?

When we turn from the index to the pages of the book itself it becomes clear what, no matter how true a revo-

lutionary Marcus Graham may be, as a critic of poetry he belongs to the elementary class. Quite literally he does not know the difference between a poem and doggerel. I am moved to say that he does not know the difference between authentic emotion and sentimentality. He does not know the difference between a genuine cry of liberty such as that contained in Shelley's "To the Men of England" and a stupid bit of nationalist propaganda like John Boyle O'Reilly's "Resurgite." All of these statements I am prepared to back up by quoting from the book.

As to doggerel: The book contains page on page of stuff like the following:

They got y' kld; they got y'—just like I said they would
You tried to walk the narrow path,
You tried, and got an awful laugh;
And laughs are all y' did get, kid—they got y' good.

or again:

I wish 'twas six; the factory bell, oh, will it ever ring?
I wish the time would pass away, the spindles cease to spin.
Oh, if the big machine would break, the pulley shaft or cone.
I want to quilt at six o'clock and then to hurry home.

The lines just quoted are astonishing, not in their content (it is not possible to quarrel with their purpose) but in form and method. If one were to search the textbooks for a poem to illustrate what not to do in writing verse one could not find a more charming sample than this. Ring—spin; cone—home! Indeed!

As to sentimentality: Side by side with authentic poetry like Joe Hill's "Long Haired Preachers Come Out" and Hardy's "The Man He Killed," the compiler has printed the following:

We have heard that the spring is lovely,
That the whole earth leaps with glee
When the young May brings to the woodlands
The rapture of being free;
But we know when the springtime cometh
Though we cannot see its grace,
For our prisoning walls grow closer
With the sun's glare in our face.

Compare this nonsense with a stanza from "Gloucester-moors" which Mr. Graham has not seen fit to print:

Jill o'er the ground is purple-blue,
Blue is the quaker-maid,
The alder clump where the brook comes through
Breed cresses in its shade.
To be out of the molling street
With its swelter and its sin,
Who has given to me this sweet,
And given my brother dust to eat,
And when will his ship come in?

As to liberty, Nationalism seems to be a passion with Mr. Graham. He has included in his book not only the poem by O'Reilly mentioned above, but Thomas Davis' "A Ballad of Freedom." It does not require much argument

in these days to show how tenuous is the connection between nationalism and liberty and how closely related chauvinism and nationalism are.

Of course, the book contains good stuff, both new and old. It could hardly avoid excellent poetry when we remember that Byron, Shelley, Swinburne, Browning, Mrs. Browning, Whitman, Whittier, Lowell, Hardy, Freiligrath, Herwegh and a hundred others in all times and places have lifted up their voices against injustice, to demand a new dispensation for the disinherited. What is astonishing is that so much in it should be bad, and so bad. A great deal of what has been included looks like stuff clipped from radical papers of the last thirty years—and not the best stuff either.

There isn't a smile in the whole book. Not a laugh. And that when satire has always been a revolutionary weapon made for the poet. Heine knew that. So perhaps it isn't necessary that Mr. Graham should know it.

DAVID P. BERENBERG.

ONE MAN AND BRITISH LABOR

J. Ramsey MacDonald, by H. Hessel Tiltman, Frededick A. Stokes Company, 456 pages \$5.00.

IF the above title were chosen for the volume just issued under the name of "J. Ramsey MacDonald," it would more nearly approximate the contents of the 465 pages of speeches, writings and observations than the misleading heading accorded it by the author. No biography should ever be attempted until at least 50 years after the subject has been gathered to the abode of his forefathers. Especially should there be a law against official biographies. What kind of a book can it be if it starts out with the intention of pleasing the man written of?

As it is, the author of "J. Ramsey MacDonald" makes no pretense at any critical analysis of MacDonald nor of the part he played and is playing in the British labor movement. He hurries on, after his birth is decently recorded, to a presentation of "some hundreds of quotations from Mr. MacDonald's speeches and writings," as the advertisement of the publishers honestly claims.

Of the man himself much is not learned, except that he leads a Spartan life, spends very little money for amusements and borrows most of his books, and they must be many, for MacDonald is an omnivorous reader—from his rich friends. Being an official biography MacDonald has no faults which the author records. There is an ache for at least one.

Interest is maintained by the speeches and writings of the labor Prime Minister, which are interesting. As for understanding better the history of British Labor, the works of Beatrice and Sydney Webb are far more inclusive and far less onesided.

I. M.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of Labor Age, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1929, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Leonard Bright, who, having been duly sworn according to law deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of Labor Age and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership,

THE SOCIALISM OF OUR TIMES

"A provocative authoritative volume filling a definite need. It should be read by anyone, Socialist or not, who even pretends to have an interest in the problems that confront this civilization."—New York Telegram.

This remarkable symposium edited by Norman Thomas and Harry W. Laidler contains brilliant articles by Harry Elmer Barnes, Stuart Chase, Paul H. Douglas, Morris Hillquit, Harold J. Laski, Roger N. Baldwin, Paul Blanchard, Louis B. Boudin, August Claessens, McAlister Coleman, Solon DeLeon, Henri DeMan, Alexander Goldenweiser, J. B. S. Hardman, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Vladimir Karapetoff, William Karlín, Karl Kautsky, Bruno Lasker, Algernon Lee, William M. Leiserson, Franz Longville, Benjamin C. Marsh, James H. Maurer, James Oneal, H. S. Raushenbush, I. M. Rubinow, Benjamin C. Stolberg, N. I. Stone, Ernest Unterman, Louis Waldman, J. S. Woodsworth and others.

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management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—Labor Publication Society, Inc., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Business Manager—Leonard Bright, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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